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The Shape of Things

IT IS UNFORTUNATE FROM ANY POINT OF view that the London meeting of Messrs. Bevin, Acheson, and Schuman should coincide in time with the visit of Secretary General Trygve Lie to Moscow. Mr. Lie's mission is one of peace: even though he may focus his efforts on the restoration of the United Nations as a functioning body, his broader objective is conciliation —first step toward ending the cold war. Mr. Acheson's very frank purpose is to coordinate and step-up cold-war efforts. He must resolve, if possible, serious conflicts of policy among the three chief Western allies and induce the Atlantic Pact nations to shoulder the major burden of their own rearmament. This means, quite plainly, playing up existing tensions between East and West, minimizing early chances of easing them, and concentrating on preparations for open conflict. That this will hardly help Mr. Lie convince Moscow of the value of conciliation is evident. On the other hand, American emphasis on war and rearmament is bound to arouse misgivings among European leaders, who must feel more and more acutely the rising popular demand for policies designed to head off attack rather than to mobilize to meet it. Western Europe is no doubt afraid of Russia, but it is more afraid of war, since war, as M. Bourdet points out on page 440 of this issue, offers no prospect other than total devastation. Continental Europeans in particular resist the prospect of committing their limited resources for arms, their men for the ground forces of the coalition, or their land for the coming theater of operations. All these facts will form the background of talks about immediate issues almost as controversial—Indo-China, German rearmament, economic coordination. The desperate hopes of the people of Europe will follow Mr. Lie to Moscow; their fears will close in around Mr. Acheson and his colleagues in London.

*

IN ALL THE SORDID COMMUNIST-CHASING that occupies the people's servants in Washington, no single episode is more shoddy than the reopening of the Remington case by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. William W. Remington, a young Commerce Department economist, was completely cleared of disloyalty charges a year ago. The committee had no evidence against him save the unsupported word of one Elizabeth Bentley. The Loyalty Review Board gave him a clean bill of health, he was reinstated in the Commerce Department, and he brought suit against Miss Bentley for libel. Apparently unwilling to allow the case to go to trial, she settled for an amount reported to be $10,000. All of this procedure cost Remington much of his savings, many months of his life, no doubt a great deal of anguish, and, inevitably, a slice of his reputation. Now reinstated and trying desperately to lead a normal existence, he is hauled before the committee again on "new evidence." Another witness has come forward to testify that he was a Communist back in 1936, when he was a TVA messenger boy at the age of eighteen. Remington denies this unequivocally. We think it is time for someone high in government to stand up and say that it doesn't matter a tinker's damn whether or not he was a Communist thirteen years ago. What matters very much is that he has been acquitted of all suggestion of disloyalty and is now being tried again; that Congress is grossly usurping the functions of the judiciary without providing any of the safeguards against judicial tyranny that men fought for centuries to establish; that the whole concept of Anglo-Saxon law, with its rules of evidence, its protection against double jeopardy, and its statutes of limitation, is being wiped out before our very eyes by stupid and mean-spirited little men. No law contemplated by Congress will be the better for the persecution that now passes for "investigation" on Capitol Hill.

*

THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE DID itself no credit when it approved an increase in social-security benefits far short of that recommended by its own advisory council and, in some respects, short of improvements adopted last year by the House of Representatives. The committee would raise the prospective average pension for covered workers to $49 a month at age sixty-five, which is somewhat higher than the House bill, but it proposes to bring under coverage of the law only 8,500,000 of the 25,000,000 workers not now covered, whereas the House voted to include 11,000,000 new workers. The Senate committee rejected the House provision to raise from 1½ per cent to 2 per cent the payroll taxes needed to finance the program and to in-

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crease from $3,000 to $3,600 the basic salary on which taxes are paid. The effect is to deprive better-paid workers of secure pensions above the minimums. The committee also rejected, without even holding hearings, President Truman's recommendation for an improvement in unemployment-compensation programs. A better bill than the committee proposed may be voted on the Senate floor, but it is probable now that the first major social-security reforms to be passed in a decade will still leave us considerably short of an adequate social-insurance system embracing all the country's workers.

⁂

IF NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS REALLY WONDER why the labor press constantly warns union members that they cannot depend on the daily papers, all they need do is reexamine their editorials on the Chrysler strike. The bulk of these comments accepted without question the corporation's argument against Walter P. Reuther and the C. I. O. Automobile Workers. Overwhelmingly, the editors agreed that the hundred-day strike was "unnecessary," that the union gained little more than it could have without a walkout, that Chrysler's production had been disturbed pointlessly and without profit to anyone. But realistically the strike can only be viewed as a single battle in a continuing struggle —the union's campaign for immediate concrete benefits and for its own stability and effectiveness as spokesman for labor. Without the U. A. W. there would be no pensions at all for production workers in the automotive industry, there would be much lower wage scales, and there would be no assurance that the industry would be obliged to think of social responsibilities to its workers as well as speed of assembly lines and profits for management. Every major gain the union has won in fifteen years has resulted from a strike or a willingness to strike if necessary. It is worth noting that for all its resistance to the union's demands, the corporation was able to use its piled-up reserves to pay a regular quarterly dividend despite a net loss for the first three months of the year. If the U. A. W. failed to win a union shop, it did gain pensions, a dues check-off, and other benefits, and it came through the strike with its self-administered discipline intact and its solidarity unimpaired.

⁂

NOW THAT HE HAS REBUFFED THE OIL AND natural-gas lobbies, along with their champions on Capitol Hill, President Truman is being quietly urged to make it up to them by reappointing Nelson Lee Smith to the Federal Power Commission when his term expires in June. Smith, a Republican, was one of the two commissioners who urged the President to sign the Kerr bill, which would have exempted the so-called independent producers of natural gas from the commission's rate-fixing authority. He was also a de-

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termined opponent of his fellow-commissioner Leland Olds when that foe of the oil-and-gas lobby came up for reappointment. Preserving the party balance on the commission, the President can surely find a Republican more in sympathy with the regulatory purposes of that body, not to mention his own preoccupation with cheap public power. There are several Republican Senators from New England who are anything but pleased with Mr. Smith's dim view of the development of hydro-electric power on the St. Lawrence. If Mr. Truman takes as much satisfaction in stopping the Kerr grab as he is entitled to take, he will listen to these Senators when the Smith commission expires rather than to the Kerrs and Lyndon Johnsons of his own party. For the fact is that while his veto of the Kerr bill was unquestionably a courageous act in the face of the determined fight made for the measure by Speaker Sam Rayburn and other top Truman lieutenants, it was also a move of great political shrewdness. As a champion of the consumer against the "big interests," the President would have found it hard to explain his sanction of a bill that would cost the consumers of natural gas some $200,000,000 more a year. To reappoint Smith would be to sacrifice a deserved political advantage without assuaging the disappointment of his friends on the Hill.

Whirligigs of "Fortune"

HENRY LUCE'S *Fortune* has made two great discoveries which Henry Luce's *Time* and *Life* have picked up and digested for popular consumption. Britain, it seems is making a come-back—hardly news, at least to *Nation* readers—and it is doing so, not because of Socialist policies, but in spite of them, which, if true, is certainly news.

"Britain," writes John Knox Jessup, chairman of *Fortune's* Board of Editors, "has been improving its dollar position more spectacularly than any other country. . . . All her current statistics support the hope that she may achieve by 1952, or very soon after, that happy state known to British planners as 'viability,' *i.e.*, economic independence. . . . The three indexes that mean most to Britain's viability—exports, productivity, and dollar reserves—are all rising. . . . There is a measure of optimism in Britain today that was not there a year ago: a feeling that the end of the post-war travail, or at least of its desperate phase, is in sight."

We have no quarrel with these observations, but we do take exception to Mr. Jessup's efforts to explain away the contributions of the Labor government toward the British achievement. Without making any serious attempt to analyze the part played by economic planning in Britain's recovery, without acknowledging the extent to which that recovery has, in fact, conformed to plans adopted three years or more ago, he attempts to show that all the credit is due to private enterprise.

We ourselves do not take the opposite position—that British business men deserve no credit—nor does the Labor government, nor even left-wing members of the Labor Party. For instance, the pamphlet "Keeping Left," published by the *New Statesman and Nation* last January, notes "that a substantial number of managers have seen the new dispensation not as a defeat in a class war, but as a challenge to evolve a new sort of industrial leadership," and goes on to assert that Britain's industrial successes have been largely due to the cooperation between managers and the trade unions.

It is almost fantastic to suggest, as Mr. Jessup does, that the Labor government is just beginning to awaken to the importance of "costs, productivity, and sales," and so is reluctantly retreating from planning and giving business a green light. The absolute necessity for an increase in production and industrial efficiency if post-war problems were to be solved was strongly emphasized in the Labor election program of 1945. And the same document made it clear that since the party was aiming at a "mixed economy," not a purely Socialist one, private industry would have to play a prominent part in reaching national goals. As long as raw materials remained scarce, it was necessary for the government to use direct controls to insure priority for those forms of production which were of particular national importance. As scarcities were overcome, many of these controls were dropped, but this does not mean, as Mr. Jessup appears to believe, that planning is on the way out. It does mean that the government can now rely to a greater extent on indirect controls exercised through the Budget, which, as Sir Stafford Cripps said recently, is "the most powerful instrument for influencing economic policy which is available to the government."

It would take much more space than is available here to meet Mr. Jessup's argument point by point and show the extent to which he has either misunderstood or misrepresented the Labor government's economic policies. But we must refer briefly to his statements about new investment, which, he admits, has been "rather impressive" since 1945. While noting that about half this new investment is either controlled or strongly influenced by the government, he overlooks the importance of the capital programs of such nationalized industries as coal and electric-power supply. And he implies that the increase in productivity is solely, or largely, due to private decisions to rebuild or expand plant. Actually, it is government fiscal and other policies which have raised Britain's gross rate of investment to 20 per cent of the national income—about twice the pre-war rate. It is government planning that has concentrated investment on the export and other essential industries. It is

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maintenance of full employment which has stirred a lot of British industries into investment in labor-saving machinery. Without these things and without the measures taken to insure that the rapid expansion of investment would not result in inflation, it is unlikely Britain would be as far along "the road back" as it now is.

We realize that organs of opinion like *Fortune,* which are devoted to spreading the gospel of private enterprise and are constantly asserting the incompatibility of socialism and economic progress, find themselves on the spot when they face the facts of British recovery. It is embarrassing for them to observe that Britain is making a better record than France and some other European countries whose reliance on free market methods they had extolled. So we suppose that British Socialists may regard the *Fortune* article as a backhanded compliment. When Mr. Luce considers it necessary to explain to his millions of readers that socialism has nothing to do with Britain's come-back, he must fear that some people might be coming to a different conclusion.

Exit Senator Pepper

ADMINISTRATION fortunes took a bad turn on May 2, when Senator Claude Pepper went down to decisive defeat in the Florida primary. Only a professional supporter of the Truman regime will attempt to deny so patent a fact. But to read in Pepper's downfall a nationwide repudiation of the Fair Deal and all its works, as the Republicans were bound to do, seems to us just as far-fetched.

The outcome in Florida is a serious blow, not because it necessarily foreshadows coming events, but simply because it assures a season of dirty campaigning ahead. Representative George Smathers pinned the red rose on his opponent, stirred up racial animosities, plumped for the Taft-Hartley act, and damned much of the Administration's program as "creeping communism." And he won by a wide margin, retiring one of the most trenchant New Dealers in the Senate, a militant liberal who can hardly be spared. It would take far less to convince Republican Chairman Gabrielson that in "Liberty or Socialism" he has stumbled across the hottest campaign slogan since "Tippecanoe and Tyler too." In North Carolina we can expect the Democratic primary fight against Frank Graham to take on the McCarthy-like quality that appears to have won the day for Smathers. And in countless other engagements across the country we can look for a summer of inflammatory appeals, bitterness, and political quackery.

For all this unsavory prospect, however, it does not follow that the Smathers technique will yield in the country at large the success it won in Florida. Several important factors set that race apart. In the first place, Pepper was vulnerable to charges of leftist affiliation which are applicable to no other candidate except Glen Taylor of Idaho. Unlike Taylor, he refused to follow Wallace into the third-party wilderness, and as the New York *Times* points out, he was an ardent interventionist even during the period of the Nazi-Soviet pact. Nevertheless, he was volubly close to Wallace, and his opponent made thorough use of a photograph of Pepper, Wallace, and Paul Robeson engaged in chummy conference.

Pepper was vulnerable in other respects. If he had not been a Progressive in 1948, neither had he been a willing follower of Truman. So forceful, in fact, had been his opposition to Truman's nomination that the President, who bears grudges with enthusiasm, withheld the kind of top party support without which the Senator was unable to cope with the dynamic and demagogic Mr. Smathers. He was left without the full backing of either the right or the left wing of his party.

Finally, in a Southern state, Pepper had to contend with the inflammatory issue of Negro-white relations. The fact that he had favored even a wartime FEPC, though he has since opposed such legislation, was enough for the Smathers crowd, which flooded the state not only with the snapshot already mentioned but with a spate of ugly stories and rumors calculated to turn racial animosities to its own purpose.

None of these three factors—the candidate's peculiar vulnerability, his rift with the party leaders, and race tensions—are common to the battles of Fair Dealers in general to win control of the next Congress. The President may not be far off base when he says that the Florida campaign was just the Florida campaign and nothing more. It might have been a great deal more, however, if neighboring Alabama had gone over to the Dixiecrats. The fight for control of that state's seventy-two-man Democratic Committee was close, but its recapture by "loyal" elements of the party will put a severe crimp in plans to effect the "marriage from the top" between the States'-Rights crowd and the Republicans fondly envisioned by Chairman Guy Gabrielson.

In view of this setback to the Dixiecrats, Mr. Smathers, who ran on a platform indistinguishable from that of John Foster Dulles last fall, is expected to reverse his field and ingratiate himself with the powers that be. That the tricky young politician understands this is attested by the speed with which he has tried to rub out the taint of Republicanism. "My opponent and I," he says, "differed as to our interpretation of certain basic and fundamental principles of the Democratic Party," but "I campaigned as a Democrat who had a high record of support of the Democratic Administration in the Eightieth and Eighty-first Congresses."

Without quite sharing the President's professionally

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indifferent view of the Florida campaign, we see no reason to regard it as the handwriting on the wall. It may in fact serve a useful purpose in alerting other liberal candidates against the besetting sin of over-confidence.

Mission to Moscow

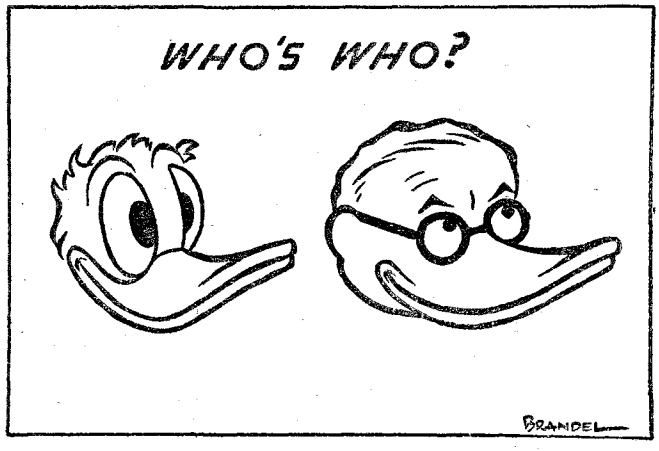
Paris, May 5

ALTHOUGH Trygve Lie, in his press conference as well as in private conversations in Paris, has warned against hoping for a miracle from his visit to Moscow, the mere fact that there is to be some discussion with the Russians has aroused widespread speculation here. Last Thursday, after lunching with Foreign Minister Robert Schuman, the Secretary General of the United Nations left the Quai d'Orsay with a broad smile on his face. According to reliable reports, he had already been encouraged by President Auriol, who had entertained him at dinner at the Elysee together with Henri Laugier, a high official of the United Nations known for his opinion that a great effort should be made before the Assembly meeting next September to get the U. N. machinery working normally again. The feeling in influential French circles that a final attempt should be made to break the present deadlock between East and West found expression today in an editorial in *l'Aube,* organ of the party to which both Premier Bidault and Foreign Minister Schuman belong. It was written by Maurice Schumann, no relative of the Foreign Minister but a former chairman of the M. R. P. and now acting chairman during the absence of Georges Bidault.

Maurice Schumann indorses Trygve Lie's undertaking without reservation. Until today the support the French have been giving to it is in striking contrast to the cold reserve in London, which reflects the glacial reaction in Washington. French correspondents in the United States have underlined the fact that Dean Acheson, in his weekly press conference, did not say a word about Trygve Lie's visit to Moscow. This afternoon a cabled dispatch from Maurice Ferro to *le Monde* modifies the gloomy impression somewhat by reporting Washington opinion to the effect that intensifying the cold war, as the Americans intend to do in London, does not indicate desire to destroy all bridges to the East.

American spokesmen here are suddenly putting President Truman's so-called "declaration of peace" in the same category. All these things taken together indicate that the uneasiness with which many Europeans have seen the international situation deteriorate has not only worked in favor of Mr. Lie's project but made Washington realize that it would not be wise to seem to regard a rapprochement as absolutely impossible. For their part the Russians are evidently aware that if ever there was a moment for diplomatic elasticity and concessions, that moment is now. This combination of trends gives to Trygve Lie's visit to Moscow a greater importance than the naturally cautious Secretary General cares to concede.

J. A. DEL V.



[*Answer on next page*]

Ananias in Washington

By WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, May 5

FOR a few brief moments in the Senate this week Joe McCarthy lost his aplomb and in a half-strangled voice begged the presiding officer, Vice-President Barkley, to save him from an excoriation which in the memory of the oldest press-gallery veterans was unparalleled in the Senate. A group of nine or ten Democrats ganged up on McCarthy to prove that he had in effect lied on February 20 when he read on the floor what he represented as a copy of his speech of February 9 at Wheeling, West Virginia. Almost the entire Republican membership abandoned him to his fate.

Against the background of McCarthy's wholesale smears this particular lie may seem almost insignificant. It certainly should not be allowed to overshadow the fact that his charges against Owen Lattimore are unsupported, in public at least, by anything but hearsay testimony from Louis Budenz. McCarthy himself obviously preferred to abandon Lattimore as his "stand or fall" case and hurry to steal more headlines by an inaccurate account of what a supposed key witness was supposed to have testified in secret session in regard to the *Amerasia* case. The attack in the Senate should not obscure the larger issue—that what Lattimore calls McCarthyism is a genuine threat to freedom of scholarship, freedom of association, and freedom from slander by elected officials.

But the baiting of McCarthy by the Democrats was important because the design was to reveal something about his tactics. It is a standing rule of the Senate that

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members shall not attack one another's integrity. It is an unwritten but well-understood rule that members shall not lie to each other in formal Senate proceedings. Senators may place different interpretations upon the same document, they may slug each other hard in the ruthless game of politics, but personal truthfulness in reporting concise facts is a cardinal assumption of all members about one another. This is part of the cherished atmosphere of an exclusive "gentlemen's club." Unless the Senate operated in this manner, indeed, it could scarcely get any business done.

The "gentlemen's club" atmosphere evaporated for three hours as the Democrats, in a carefully planned and relentlessly executed attack, charged McCarthy with having misrepresented what he had said in Wheeling. On February 20 McCarthy quoted as follows from what he claimed was his Wheeling speech: "I have in my hand fifty-seven cases of individuals," either card-carrying Communists or persons loyal to the Communists, who are working for the State Department. The Democrats introduced a copy of a Wheeling newspaper and affidavits from Wheeling radio-station officials which declared that he had said, "I have here in my hand *a list of 205 that were known to the Secretary [of State] as being members of the Communist Party*, and who nevertheless are still working and shaping policy in the State Department." The affidavits said that McCarthy's speech had been recorded and that the tape recordings had been checked with the prepared text.

In a wholly remarkable cross-examination of a fellow-Senator the Democrats repeatedly challenged McCarthy to say by a simple yes or no whether the phrase "205 that were known to the Secretary" as Communists was in fact the language written in the speech he gave the newspaper and radio station. They never got a plain answer. McCarthy protested against the "numbers game," tried to reply in evasive generalizations—and the Democrats laughed in his face. Senator Neely of West Virginia bluntly said that "someone whose identity is not yet officially determined is lying as deliberately as Ananias." In the end McCarthy himself managed a grin, but while Neely and the Democrats were baiting him he sat bent over his desk, and he scarcely lifted his head when in a suddenly thinned voice he twice called to Barkley for the "regular order of business" and once cried unsuccessfully, "Point of order, Mr. President." His ejaculations do not appear in the *Congressional Record*, either because they were blandly ignored by Barkley or because the official reporter did not hear them, but they were heard in the press gallery above McCarthy's head.

Why the uproar about whether in Wheeling in February McCarthy said 57 Communists or 205 Communists? The Democrats were raising the issue of McCarthy's honesty even toward Senatorial colleagues. The assault was initiated by Senator Lucas, the Democratic leader, and it clearly represented an Administration decision to undercut McCarthy's accusations by a drastic counter-attack. There will be more such incidents. As for the Republicans, the silence of everyone but Wherry of Nebraska and Jenner of Indiana spoke eloquently. The others understood exactly what the Democrats were doing and either left the floor or listened quietly as McCarthy was subjected to the "Ananias" lashing.

The mail of most Senators is still in favor of McCarthy's operations. His most deadly weapon is apparently not the charges of communism but the blather about homosexuality. Executive-department employees whose integrity is unquestionable frankly feel some uneasiness about the possibility that in his flailings McCarthy may strike what he would call "pay dirt"—at least one person who can be successfully broken down and disgraced, at least one revelation of sinister facts, or of facts which in the present temper of the country will seem sinister. The Tydings subcommittee has been given the State Department files on the persons McCarthy dredged up from a list studied by a House committee in the Republican Eightieth Congress. Whatever the files and the hearings may show, the warning word has been bluntly spoken in open Senate debate: "No one wants to smear McCarthy. He has smeared himself all through this thing, from beginning to end."

AS THE Senate moves toward the inevitable filibuster on the Administration's bill for a Fair Employment Practices Commission, the defeat of Claude Pepper in the Florida primary is a warning to other Southern liberals. As long ago as 1944 Pepper announced that he opposed a permanent FEPC, but for years he was the only Southern Democrat who refused to participate in filibusters. Last year he was joined by Kefauver of Tennessee, who is also opposed to FEPC but failed to join the filibuster against changing the Senate rules. Significantly, two days after the Florida primary Kefauver joined his fellow-Southerners in a strategy conference called to plan the filibuster against the FEPC bill now pending.

As interesting as the effect of Pepper's defeat on Southern liberals in the Senate is the question of what the Republicans will do to help Northern and Western Democrats break the speechmaking and force FEPC to a vote. The Republicans want to interrupt the debate long enough to try to beat some of President Truman's proposed reorganization plans, including the plan to abolish the position of Robert N. Denham as independent general counsel of the National Labor Relations Board. They will try to bring that matter to a vote; if they fail, the reorganization plans will automatically become effective May 23.

Answer to Who's Who—Donald Duck and Ernest Bevin.

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Del Vayo—Trials by the Dozen

Paris, May 2

THE front pages of the afternoon papers are filled with accounts of the many trials now going on, both political and *passionnels*. A new note in the annals of crime has horrified the French public—the number of brutal offenses against children. What is called here the *martyrologie de l'enfance* began on February 28 in Rheims, when a Denise Wadoux starved two of her children to death and tried to throw a third out of the window. The latest of the series was the murder of a little boy of five, by a Jacques Lavenue in Paris on April 14, because he "wet the bed." In all there have been eighteen cases, of varying degrees of savagery. The country is greatly stirred; it is believed that the leniency of the courts has fostered crime, and that heavier sentences should be imposed.

A woman senator, the attractive Jacqueline Patenôtre, has introduced a bill to stiffen the present laws. Mme Poinso-Chapuis, who was formerly Minister for the Family, gave the campaign a slogan when she said, "Every child who is killed calls for help. We can provide that help by increasing the severity of the punishment." Indignation was intensified when one tribunal decided a month in prison was sufficient punishment for a father who had maltreated a child of two and a half years. The same court sentenced a boy who stole a bicycle to a year in prison—thus emphasizing the reality and the relevance of that fine Italian film "The Bicycle Thief."

Of the political trials the Hardy case has aroused the most interest. People see in it the whole drama of the betrayal of the Resistance. Now thirty-eight years old, very slender and with a theatrical pallor, René Hardy is clearly determined to appear the victim of a great injustice. With his past life a mixture of courage and cowardice, of strenuous political activity and ardent love affairs, he has been made into a very interesting figure by his talented counsel, Maître Maurice Garçon.

The facts are briefly as follows. A minor civil servant before the war, of a petit-bourgeois family, Hardy became one of the leaders of the Resistance during the German occupation. He formed and directed one of the principal units, known as *Résistance-Fer,* and for this was arrested by the Germans. The girl he was in love with was also arrested, and to obtain her liberty as well as his own he made "concessions." He was then set free, having agreed, it is charged, to act as an agent for the Gestapo. The first casualty was Jean Moulin, one of the true heroes of the Resistance and the first president of its National Council. Moulin was succeeded in this post by none other than the present Prime Minister, Georges Bidault. (How many changes have taken place in France in a few years!) Unlike Hardy, Moulin suffered torture and death without a single name being torn from him by the Gestapo. Hardy continued to move freely in Resistance circles. His comrades trusted him, and he was therefore extremely useful to the Germans.

In December, 1944, after the Liberation, a sensation was caused in Paris by the news that Hardy had been arrested, accused of *intelligence avec l'ennemi.* In January, 1947, a court of justice of the Department of the Seine pronounced him "not guilty." Two months later he was arrested again on the charge of having testified falsely.

The president of the court, Meiss, is accused of bias by Hardy's friends. He attacks the prisoner's testimony relentlessly, shouting at him, "Don't lie! Tell the truth for once!" Hardy leaves to the agile Maître Garçon the task of refuting point by point the prosecutor's huge dossier, which consists mainly of statements by former officers of the Gestapo and the German Intelligence. Hardy himself enumerates his services to the Resistance, describes the famous *Plan Vert* which he devised in 1942, recalls his patriotic acts at the time of the armistice, his revolt against Pétain's capitulation, his attempt to escape to Corsica to join the Free French, his arrest at Toulon and his sentencing by Vichy justice to fifteen months in prison. "I have lost the habit of expressing myself," he says; "I have been kept so long in solitude, in confinement." He seems to express himself very well, however, whenever he sees a chance to get in a word in his favor.

Courtesy *Figaro*

René Hardy

This second Hardy trial has inflamed political passions. Some sectors of the right are trying to create an atmosphere favorable to an acquittal, or at any rate preparing the ground for a later reversal of the verdict; they would like to make the case a second edition of the Dreyfus affair. But even on the right the defense of Hardy is timid. For example, Jean Nocher, a Gaullist newspaperman, writing in *Carrefour,* said only: "Hardy was unquestionably one of those rare leaders who, when the Resistance was becoming political, refused to be eliminated by the Communists. They have never forgiven him for being the guiding spirit of *Résistance-Fer.*" The reactionary and demagogic *Aurore,* which has become the newspaper of small business, attacking the very rich, opposing burdensome taxes, reviling the politicians, and all the while increasing its circulation, supports the efforts of President Meiss to drag the truth out of Hardy. The whole left press demands that justice be meted out to the man who betrayed Jean Moulin. One leader of the Resistance, Jean Jacques Mayoux, who directed the movement in the northeast, wrote: "I wish that the Resistance, instead of delivering Hardy to the secular arm, had claimed him for itself and seized the opportunity to affirm that only its members have enough knowledge of the struggle to appreciate the enormity of the betrayal."

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Formula for Peace

BY CLAUDE BOURDET

[*Claude Bourdet is a distinguished French journalist. He was a leader of the Resistance during the German occupation and later editor of the independent paper* Combat. *He is now editor of the new publication* l'Observateur. *This article was delivered as an address at the dinner which concluded the Nation Associates' recent conference on the Atomic Era.*]

BEFORE we discuss a possible basis for agreement between East and West, we must understand why policies have developed, on both sides of the iron curtain, which are driving the world toward annihilation. It seems to me that the underlying idea of those policies can be summed up in three words—the old and deathly over-simplification "we and they." By basing every single political action on this abstract world-image for five years, the West and the Russians have actually forced world relationships into their present distorted channels.

Most of us are of course ready to admit that the Communists have been building up an artificial Utopia by pressure and violence. But few people in the West will accept the view that we have been working along exactly the same lines, if by apparently softer methods. Communist thinkers and statesmen have long acted on the assumption that no inherent contradictions of a national or social character can exist in a socialist world. But obviously this is not the case. Contradictions have cropped up, and when this has happened, orthodox Communists have ascribed their appearance to the influence of traitors and saboteurs, and violently suppressed them if possible.

But at the same time the intellectuals, journalists, and statesmen of the non-Communist world have accepted this Communist assumption as truth, and have always fought communism as a whole, violently denouncing, and thereby continually helping to solidify, its monolithic structure instead of understanding its largely artificial character. The Yugoslav rebellion and the dissensions within the Communist parties of Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland have surprised bourgeois thinkers as much as they have the Russians.

Events in all the East European people's democracies have proved that there are always antagonisms between the interests of different Communist states, and that these antagonisms lead to attempts by the national Communist parties to win more freedom from Moscow. Western statesmen should have realized that the same kind of thing would happen even more readily in China. Yet the West, with the possible exception of Great Britain, has adopted a hostile or at best an unfriendly attitude toward Mao, is helping the French to maintain the artificial Bao Dai regime in Indo-China, and is supporting local reactionary forces wherever possible, thus forcing established agrarian Communist regimes, and the exploited classes generally in Asia, to look to Moscow as their only ally.

In Western Europe the "we and they" concept strengthens the hold of Moscow on the Communist parties and the working class. In France, for instance, the "total" fight against communism plays into the hands of the conservatives, brings the enactment of more reactionary or even semi-fascist measures, and thus pushes the French workers closer to Moscow.

In the same way the abstract view of the community of interests of the Western world has become the basis of an equally artificial economic and military power group. The policy of the Atlantic Pact, by instituting a direct Western blockade and by calling forth the Russian counter-blockade, has had the economic effect of reducing the traditional trade between the industrial countries of Western Europe and the agrarian countries of Eastern Europe. As a replacement for the natural European commercial unity, an attempt has been made to combine Western Europe's economy with that of the United States. But the latter is too highly productive ever to be able to absorb any large amount of West European exports. This unnatural relationship has been possible only through the free gifts of the Marshall Plan. One must, therefore fully indorse the point stressed by the U. N. Economic Commission for Europe—that unless the present level of East-West trade is increased by a billion dollars annually, the end of Marshall Plan aid will mean a frightful depression in Europe. Similarly, the Ruhr business men stated recently that the severing of trade relations between eastern and western Germany has been disastrous for the German economy.

From a military standpoint the Atlantic Pact policy combines in an equally unrealistic way the forces of countries whose military interests are different and possibilities of action contradictory. The inhabitants of the United States and Canada can face the prospect of World War III, imagining through optimism or ignorance that their countries may escape total destruction. But the people of France know that whatever happens in World War III they will be eradicated from the surface of the earth. Americans may rightly consider

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that they will be relatively united against an enemy. The French know they will be divided into two groups fighting each other with every possible weapon.

And yet there could be a policy which would help to unite all Frenchmen and also unite the French with the Germans, the Italians, and the rest of Europe. This policy might even give the people of Europe a common fighting spirit, for all groups except a small minority of diehards could agree on it. It is the policy of organizing and defending European neutrality. This is not, perhaps, a glorious idea. But I wonder how you would feel in America if every single one of you knew he would have to murder his fellow-countrymen or be murdered by them—and knew that afterward, regardless of the outcome of the war, he would disappear with his home and family in a heap of ruins.

This policy of European neutrality, which would, I believe, be the very best thing for the peace of the world as well as for the interests of both the United States and the Soviet Union, runs directly counter to the idea of the Atlantic community. Economically the Atlantic community is a monster, only able to exist through the support of the American taxpayer. Strategically it is absurd, for it includes within its boundaries millions of people who either will not fight at all or will fight on the other side. Psychologically it is dangerous too, for it is a constant incentive to the Kremlin leaders to unify the Communist bloc by every possible means. In addition it prevents national Communist parties from considering the interests of their people and forces them to follow the Moscow line.

Thus by refusing to acknowledge the deep differences within both the Communist and the capitalist worlds, the West has erred in the same way as the Soviet leaders have, and the error has led to the construction of two artificial blocs which can only be kept united by political, financial, and sometimes military pressure—and also of course by fear of each other.

THIS leads us to the final question: What should be the basis of an agreement with Russia? It is not certain that Russia wants an agreement, or that an agreement is possible, but for our part we must reverse the whole forced unitary policy of Western capitalism. We must realize at last that this unitary policy is not only ruining the economies of the Western nations and adding nothing to their material security but also developing in the Communist world exactly the same unitary tendencies and the same war psychosis.

It is urgent to recognize formally and to bring into the U. N. the Chinese People's Democracy, and thus end that country's diplomatic dependence on the Soviet Union.

It is urgent that the United States stop encouraging the French in their hopeless attempt to establish a puppet state in Indo-China under Bao Dai, an attempt which really insures the triumph of communism there. Ho Chi Minh, however, is much too subtle and cultured to be a good Stalinist and has always declared that the interest of his country comes before Communist theories.

It is urgent to encourage, not hamper, the trade between Western Europe and the people's democracies, and between East and West Germany—and thus to establish the only sane basis for a European economy and prevent the Eastern countries from being totally absorbed in the Russian economy.

It is urgent to give up the idea of an Atlantic commonwealth and to foster instead the idea of an independent and neutral Europe. Communist agitation against the arming of a neutral Europe would fall on deaf ears; and it is certain that a large degree of national unanimity could be attained on this issue with or without the consent of the European Communist parties.

Claude Bourdet

If such a policy were devised, a policy which would try to break up the blocs instead of freezing them, it would in no way undermine the security of the United States, which can expect little help in any case from a divided Europe. At the same time it would considerably decrease world tension and create more favorable conditions for East-West negotiations, which are today either impossible or certain to be pretty fruitless.

With international tension abated and with the world divided into various groups of nations instead of two monstrous blocs, negotiations for the international control of atomic energy could be initiated. If they were intelligently directed on a basis of political realism and with the object of putting atomic inspection in the hands of neutral inspectors, it might be hoped that the great fear which weighs on mankind could finally be dissipated.

GIVEN a change of the international atmosphere, I think that the following proposals might provide a basis for a settlement of the atomic question.

1. The idea of international ownership of the means of production of fissionable matter should be given up. Sound as it may seem theoretically, no country adhering to Socialist principles—and this does not apply only to Russia and the satellite countries—would con-

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sent to deliver the formidable possibilities of atomic production to an international body like the U. N. where non-Socialist countries are in the majority. This might mean depriving Socialist economies of what would be a major source of energy in twenty or fifty years.

2. The idea of real and comprehensive international inspection must by all means be retained. It is important to select the inspectors with the greatest care, so that they will be acceptable both to the United States and Russia, and to give to the international machinery of inspection such moral and material status that it will be independent of all disputes within the U. N. Men like Trygve Lie and Lord Boyd Orr, for example, have proved that they are non-partisan.

3. Since the greatest obstacle to atomic talks in the past has been which comes first, destruction or inspection, I suggest two preliminary measures to help us out of this tangle. The first is President Carlos Romulo's proposal that all existing bombs be put under the United Nations' seal. The second is that an international convention be signed outlawing both A and H bombs. The existence of such a convention would not insure that bombs would never be used, but it could help to allay the apprehensions of both parties possessing the bomb and, as in the case of poison gas, make any nation hesitate to use it first.

I would not like to finish this address without making a proposal which, however irrelevant to present international difficulties, might give the scientists of the world a chance to devote their great knowledge to something other than destruction. In all countries where it is still possible to complain without endangering one's life or freedom or social status, scientists are protesting against the conditions of research, which not only violate man's dignity but obstruct the progress of science and its use for the benefit of humanity. Atomic scientists are turning to other fields. The work of students is hampered. The exchange of ideas is made impossible. In fact, we in the West are following the example of the Soviet-controlled countries and going back to the restrictions of the Middle Ages.

If one of the few countries which have not adhered either to the Atlantic bloc or the Soviet bloc declared that it would give international status and freedom of research for peaceful uses to all scientists—if that country opened an international center and created an international fund for free scientific research for the benefit of humanity—I am positive that hundreds of scientists from countries which are giving up the freedom of science as well as from those which have already given it up would flock to that asylum of peace, progress, and freedom. A number of scientists in various countries have already shown great interest in this idea, and steps are being taken to approach certain governments. The immense advantages of such an international center for the country which organizes it are clear. If the scientists of the United States show enough interest to encourage the governments approached, the project may begin to materialize in less than a year's time. I leave it to you to imagine how deeply this would impress world opinion and how powerfully it would act to lessen world tension by giving the scientists of the world a unique means of influencing the governments of the world.

Who Are "The Christophers"?

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, May 2

IT WAS Hannah Arendt who first pointed out, some years ago, the significance of "movements" in modern politics. Historically the party system was based on a division of the people into distinct social classes. As the class system has become less rigid, "movements" have arisen which make an appeal to those whose class position is ambiguous. The movement has the advantage of appearing to cut across class lines; its emphasis is on "direction" rather than program. Parties organize support for their programs and candidates; movements seek to align those who have not yet taken sides in a struggle whose issues are nevertheless clearly drawn.

CAREY McWILLIAMS, a staff contributor, is the author of "California, the Great Exception," and other books.

The Christopher movement, which might best be described as the Catholic counterpart of Moral Rearmament,* is one of the more interesting of current American movements. Athough "under Catholic auspices," it manages to avoid direct stress on Catholic doctrine. As MRA is built around Dr. Frank Buchman, the Christopher movement is built around Father James Keller, a Maryknoll priest; also like MRA, it has no chapters, committees, boards, meetings, elections, formal organization, members, or dues. The Christophers are simply "Christ-bearers" who, inspired by Father Keller, go forth into the market-places of the world to do good and overcome evil. Without a program, the Christopher movement has the same exasperating doctrinal vagueness as MRA; for example,

* See MRA: the "World-arching Ideology," by Carey McWilliams, in *The Nation* for July 31, 1948.

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wages must be "fair," profits must not be "excessive," and so forth.

Headquarters of The Christophers, Inc., are in New York. A monthly *News Letter* is sent free of charge to some 200,000 readers. Monthly expenses in excess of $20,000 are raised by voluntary contributions. Annual prizes totaling $30,000 are offered for the best book, motion picture, and play—that is, "best" from the Christopher point of view, as judged by Myles Connolly, Father John S. Kennedy, Clare Boothe Luce, Fulton Oursler (an active Christopher), and Mary O'Hara. In addition to the *News Letter* and various pamphlets, two widely read books by Father Keller—"You Can Change the World!" and "Three Minutes a Day"—explain the Christopher approach. Some 200,000 people receive guidance from the movement, but since there is no formal organization they can participate only by following the Christopher line.

THOUGH they have no program, the Christophers do possess a definite ideology. The troubles of the world, they believe, are largely due to the activities of a relatively insignificant number of people—probably not more than 1 per cent of the population. The identity of these trouble-makers is not clear. One is told that they are "not all Communists," although presumably every Communist is included. Generally, they are anti-Christian, materialistic, subversive, and they have swarmed into certain fields from which they must be dislodged—namely, education, government, labor management, and writing (newspapers, magazines, books, radio, motion pictures, television).

Father Keller is neither a rabble-rouser nor a demagogue; on the contrary, he is by all accounts a man of genuine good-will, kindly, generous, and charitable. He is very careful, therefore, to urge his followers to show Christian love to everyone, including the Communists, and to avoid even the appearance of red-baiting. At the same time he points out that a major purpose of the movement is "to weed out" the 1 per cent who are responsible for our social problems. This, however, is "only half the job." Each subversive must be replaced by a "healthy-minded American," preferably by a Christopher. Hence part of the work of the Christophers is to recruit, train, and inspire these replacements. Great stress is placed on the importance of having "good people" in the key positions, that is, the positions of ideological influence. Father Keller gives his followers practical advice on how to get into these positions and what to do once they are there. He wants "Communist" zeal replaced by Christopher zeal, and to this end the movement sponsors a series of "guidance schools," which are really ideological training-schools and recruiting centers.

The influence of the Christopher movement is already marked in the motion-picture industry. On a recent trip to Hollywood Father Keller succeeded in stimulating the interest of such Christophers as Loretta Young, Joan Leslie, Irene Dunne, Mrs. Bob Hope, Leo McCarey, Bing Crosby, John Farrow, and others. From an account of their activities by the Catholic journalist William H. Mooring in a recent issue of *International Film Review*, being a "Christ-bearer" in the motion-picture industry seems to mean, first of all, getting your team in and the other team out. Familiar anti-heresy tactics are used. For example, if a whispering campaign is launched by heretics against, say, the picture "Joan of Arc," Christophers will promptly launch a whispering campaign against those whom they call, quite specifically, the "leftists." Mr. Mooring says that the Christophers seek "to bring Christ into the making of motion pictures." But apparently this means exerting pressure to induce producers to make certain films and not to make others. In plain words, it means getting Loretta Young and other Christophers to use their influence to persuade one of the studios to make a film called "Come to the Stable," based on an original screen story by Clare Boothe Luce. It means organizing a campaign to interest producers in making a film based on the life of Christ—the "divine," of course, not the "historical" Christ; four such projects are now under consideration. It means telephoning the Catholic columnists—Louella Parsons, among others—and "reminding" them to say this or that. It also means "working with" radio commentators.

While there is nothing improper about this display of zeal, it gives rise to certain problems. In the first place, for some time now movements of the "right" have not been balanced by movements of the "left." It may be recalled in this connection that the House Committee on Un-American Activities so thoroughly investigated the "infiltration" of leftist propaganda into the making of motion pictures that today a film like "The Grapes of Wrath" would be regarded as highly subversive. In the second place, the Protestants, the Mormons, the Theosophists, the Christian Scientists, and the Mohammedans will soon be driven to organize *their* "movements," unless they want the Christophers to become the dominant ideological influence in the making of motion pictures.

Recently Hollywood was induced to make a direct contribution to the Christopher movement in the form of services and facilities. "You Can Change the World!" starring Eddie (Rochester) Anderson, Jack Benny, Bing Crosby, Paul Douglas, Irene Dunne, Ann Blyth, Bob Hope, William Holden, and Loretta Young, and directed by Leo McCarey, is the first of thirty "inspirational" Christopher films which will cost an estimated million dollars. It is described as "a substitute for a talk on the Christopher movement." Fa-

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ther Keller, who is the real star of the film, talks about "they," the enemy. "They" are trying to make modern man feel "just a nobody, worth about a dollar eighty-nine cents. Just a bunch of chemicals. . . . And that's why they swarm into every field they can to eliminate every trace of man's dignity." At one point Ann Blyth asks how young people are to get into the ideologically significant fields when it is so hard to find a job "these days." To which Father Keller replies: "Well, that's just the point, Ann. As long as it is difficult—why not try for a job that counts?" Nothing is said of course about the need for more jobs. What is really wanted, anyway, is not more jobs but, as Miss Blyth says, "jobs where you can whistle while you work." Even a Christopher, it would seem, can also be left to whistle for a job.

When Frank Buchman hears about the success Father Keller has scored in Hollywood, it is a foregone conclusion that the leader of MRA will desert his palatial hotel in Caux and head straight for Twentieth-Century Fox. Nowadays every ideological vested interest must, to borrow a phrase from Father Keller, "shift from the selfish defensive to the unselfish offensive"; it is simply a question of "influencing or being influenced." Justice Brandeis once said, "The great dangers to liberty lurk in insidious encroachments by men of zeal, well-meaning but without understanding." These dangers become greater when people of zeal are organized into "movements" without programs or clear-cut objectives, when an ideology "given" by a leader is offered as a substitute for social goals determined by popular discussion.

BESIDE THE POINT

BY NOW everyone who has ever suffered the agonies of prolonged after-dinner oratory knows the heroic story of Dr. Millikan. In years to come schoolboys will memorize the speech he made a few weeks ago, when, as guest of honor, he was finally called upon after three hours of preliminary build-up. "It is much too late for speechmaking," he began. "If you want to know what I would have said, read the chapter entitled The Road to Peace in the forthcoming "Autobiography of Robert A. Millikan." Then the great man sat down.

With this inspiration I have undertaken to prepare, for use on various occasions, a timely batch of model speeches of similar honesty and conciseness. Please order by style number as shown in catalogue:

No. 112-A (*for tory Republican candidates for Congress*): The government in Washington is spending too much money. If you send me to Congress I promise to vote against every appropriation except for new post offices, courthouses, and battle monuments in this Congressional District and for subsidies to you lima-bean growers who are the backbone of this community. To hell with the other districts.

No. 112-B (*for liberal Democratic candidates*): I ask you, my friends, only to remember that grea---t President—Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

No. 112-C (*for liberal Republican candidates*): Me too.

No. 112 (*for candidates in general*): It is no particular pleasure for me to be here in your community, which frankly means nothing to me. I am here because politics is my bread and butter. I do not begrudge you people a living, and I trust you will not begrudge me mine. By electing me you will save yourselves, as taxpayers, that much more in unemployment insurance. Just remember that on November 7. Thank you.

No. 85 (*for a chairman called on to introduce the speaker of the evening*): Ladies and Gentlemen, this is Dr. Ralph Breckenfoos, who has kindly consented to come here this evening and give us the routine address he has been making all over the country. We are indebted to the speaker, the exact amount being $320.50, including expenses. Dr. Breckenfoos—

No. 97 (*for a celebrity who has just received the annual award of the Society for the Preservation of the Whooping Crane*): This is indeed a dubious arrangement. You get a first-class drawing-card and a few thousand dollars of free publicity. I get some alleged prestige which I don't need and a pair of spun-glass book-ends. In view of the obvious imbalance, I daresay you will hardly expect a free speech into the bargain. Thank you.

No. 197-X (*for a government scientist asked to address an open forum on the problems of atomic energy*): I have been authorized to tell you that the bomb which was dropped on Hiroshima in 1945 was of an atomic nature. These bombs are highly dangerous. It would be indiscreet of me to say any more about them, but if you want basic information on the subject I suggest you get hold of any current high-school physics textbook. Or better still, consult your local foreign agent.

No. 127 (*for a Russian delegate to the United Nations, or fraction thereof*): Mr. Chairman and my esteemed colleagues: Nyet. R. B.

*

A FRIEND OF OURS who is deficient in civic virtue was taking a shower in his New York apartment when he heard a knock at the door. He threw on a robe and rushed out, leaving the shower going full blast. His caller was the conscientious neighbor from the floor below. "I'm going to boil an egg," he said earnestly, "and I wondered if you'd want me to boil one for you at the same time."

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Showdown in Viet Nam

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, May 1

THE tangle of corruption, intrigue, and *trafic d'influence* that is being slowly, and not very successfully, unraveled by the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry in Paris is much more a by-product of Viet Namese politics than of French parliamentary life, despite all the purely French dirt that is being thrown around. Sometimes, after reading through pages of evidence, one feels that the whole thing is too "colonial," too "Asiatic," to be understood, and that only an expert in the local rivalries—not here in Paris but in Saigon and Hanoi—could grasp what it is all about. Thus it is not enough to say that Van Co distributed funds "on behalf of the Bao Dai government." What he represented was not the Bao Dai government as such but one particular clique, and before one can understand what this clique wanted, one must know the exact relationship of its chief, General Xuan, to the Emperor and other rival cliques. Granted that Peyré and Van Co were trying to get General Mast appointed High Commissioner in place of M. Pignon, it is still not quite clear which groups were supporting this policy or what they were after. To what extent were these moves dictated by "higher policy" and to what extent merely by this or that purely financial interest? How did the confidential Revers report get into the hands of the Viet Minh (Resistance) leaders? Here we come up against a variety of *indochinoiserie*, if one may say so—the Viet Namese schizophrenia which makes it possible for a person to serve two or more masters.

The complicated Viet Namese mentality is perhaps best illustrated by Bao Dai himself. Frenchmen who have lived many years in Viet Nam agree that his case is not so simple as it seems. They will tell you, for example, that he hates the French, and that while he is a weak, though not a stupid, man who finds it hard to resist the fleshpots placed at his disposal—yachts, cars, airplanes, palaces, women, and what not—and to take any kind of initiative himself, he has a sneaking admiration for Ho Chi Minh and the Resistance, and would like nothing better than to see them drive the French out of Indo-China. He would then like to retire to some place in the mountains or, failing that, to Nice. The job of emperor, it is said, was forced upon him by the French urged on by the Americans, notably Mr. Bullitt.

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Competent observers—French Socialists with a long experience of the country—say that the French around Bao Dai are mainly riff-raff, former fascists and collaborators. Press and radio, for instance, are run by old *camelots du roi,* Vichy *miliciens,* and men who collaborated for years with the Japanese. Nearly all the Emperor's ministers and officials are also disreputable types, despised by French and Viet Namese alike. In characterizing the French civil service, which was never politically intelligent, though it was not in the main corrupt, one observer said recently, "Everybody now feels he hasn't long to stay in the country and had better grab what he can." M. Pignon, the High Commissioner, is surrounded by Vichyites and collaborators, survivors of the Decoux regime of 1941-45. The Bao Dai government itself has no faith in itself or its future, as may be seen from the recent resignation of three ministers on the ground that "this government in no way represents the people of Viet Nam." Reliable French writers have published biographies of the "leading personalities" of the Bao Dai regime, and they make pretty smelly reading.

The conclusion reached by most French observers is that the establishment of Bao Dai as emperor has played straight into the hands of the rebels. If in 1948 there was still a chance that the Socialists, Democrats, and Nationalists would split away from the Communists, it became clear in 1949 that they would not do so to perpetuate a thinly camouflaged French colonial regime. The "concessions" made by the French to this regime are purely administrative, and the economic clauses of the agreements—which matter more than anything else—are marked by the most conservative colonialism. Some years ago a drastic economic solution was possible. In 1945 most of the large industrial enterprises of Viet Nam could have been nationalized because they had collaborated with the Japanese, but the opposition of colonial interests, such as the Banque d'Indochine, which largely controlled the economy of the country, proved too strong. Other opportunities were also missed: at the Fontainebleau conference in 1946 Ho Chi Minh was pretty well led up the garden path, and when he returned emptyhanded to Viet Nam, met with ferocious criticism from his followers, Communist and non-Communist. As one observer remarks, "If the Communists then in the French government supported this policy, they were truly Machiavellian!"

Exactly what happened in Viet Nam at the end of

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1946 is still a matter of dispute. Serious incidents occurred in the Hanoi region, but most people think the truce was finally broken by the French navy's shelling of Haiphong, which killed 6,000 civilians.

AND so France has a millstone around its neck—hung there by the French themselves. Public opinion is profoundly sickened by the whole Viet Nam business. All opportunities to effect a reasonable settlement—even one like the British-India settlement—were either missed or deliberately wrecked by men like Admiral d'Argenlieu. Now the French must maintain in Viet Nam a fighting army of 150,000 men or more. Everybody agrees that the vast majority of the people, including some in Bao Dai's entourage, are violently anti-French; the Minister of Education, at one point, stopped the teaching of French in elementary schools.

Most, but not all, of the French army is reliable; among the colonial troops desertions are said to be frequent. The army holds a large part of the Tonkin Delta in the north and a few hundred square miles around Saigon in the south, plus a few other isolated areas; at two points on the Chinese border the troops have to be supplied by an air lift. French control of this territory, however, can scarcely be called complete, while 90 per cent of the country held by Viet Minh is effectively controlled by it. French occupation of the Tonkin Delta, the granary of the country, does not prevent Viet Minh from getting much of its food there. Viet Minh has arms factories almost on the outskirts of Saigon. And the fact that Viet Minh mortars can shell American warships anchored in Saigon harbor, and that anti-American and anti-French riots can break out in Saigon itself—as they did in April—shows that the French are not properly in control of even the chief cities.

On the other hand, Viet Minh has a highly disciplined and, according to all accounts, fairly well-equipped army, which is now receiving a good deal of artillery and other equipment from the Chinese. In the greater part of Viet Nam, Ho Chi Minh has set up a Socialist state, rather on the Russian model, with emphasis on welfare, education, industrialization, and agrarian reform. He has a large and fanatically loyal following, with a tremendous sense of purpose. The recognition of the Viet Nam Republic by Russia and its allies, a recognition never accorded to the Greek guerrillas, has immensely increased Viet Minh's self-confidence.

Ho's April offensive against Saigon appears to have been checked. He had not been expected to strike before May or June, and it was hoped there might be time for America to rush heavy arms to the French forces. The question now is: will Ho Chi Minh try another all-out offensive before America is deeply committed?

The task of the French could not be less enviable. Granted that they bungled the whole Indo-China problem, they are required to bear the brunt of a war which is, in reality, a war between Russia and America. What will America do? The message sent to Washington by Bao Dai's Foreign Minister, "Send $165,000,000, and we will wipe out the Communists in six months," must have reminded the Americans of similar telegrams from Chiang Kai-shek in the past. The French have already lost 30,000 men in Viet Nam, and have been spending $420,000,000 a year on the war there; it is more than they can afford. General Leclerc and others after him have said that "there is no military solution for Viet Nam." Some experts think that an army of 500,000 might, if not "reconquer," at any rate "obliterate," the country. But France has not 500,000 men to spare, and its problem is no longer to reconquer Indo-China but merely to hang on to the few bridgeheads it still holds.

Ho Chi Minh

Viet Nam has become the point on the globe where the friction between the two worlds is sharpest. Perhaps Moscow, like Washington, realizes the threat to peace that would arise from either a French "reconquest" of Indo-China or—a much more likely contingency—the total expulsion of the French, with all the roads thrown open to Russo-Chinese political penetration to Siam and Burma. It is too late for a local settlement. Viet Nam is already an international problem. It is to be hoped that when the Western Foreign Ministers discuss this problem at London, they will not confine themselves to talking about dollars for Bao Dai and tanks for the French.

During the past few weeks the French government has been insisting that Viet Nam is no longer a purely French concern, that its defense is at least as much an Anglo-American interest. *Le Monde* has been complaining that it is high time the French ceased to play the thankless, exclusive role of "the wicked whites" in Asia. Three courses are open to the Western powers: active participation by England and America in Viet Nam, where a show of force might persuade Viet Minh that it had better start negotiations for a lasting *modus vivendi*; withdrawal of the French forces according to the Communist formula—a line firmly rejected by the French government; settlement of the Indo-China question as part of a general settlement with China and Russia. This last, of course, requires the willingness of all parties to negotiate.

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England: End of the Wage Freeze?

BY DAVID C. WILLIAMS

London, April 29

ON EASTER SUNDAY, Britain's wage-stabilization policy, already on its last legs, received a mortal blow. The annual convention of the Union of Shop, Distributive, and Allied Workers—that is, retail clerks—censured its executive board for supporting the Labor government's wage slowdown at the special meeting of the Trades Union Congress in January. Had the union, with its 341,000 votes, swung against the slowdown then, the policy would have been rejected.

The issues could hardly have been more clearly and eloquently presented than they were in the debate which preceded the convention's decision. A large proportion of the U. S. D. A. W.'s members work for the cooperative movement and have an unusually high sense of social and political responsibility. The union's president, Walter Padley, has just been elected to Parliament at the age of thirty-three and is one of the coming men in the Labor movement. He is sometimes called, because of his eloquence and crusading anti-communism, Britain's Walter Reuther.

Britain's circumstances, however, have thrust upon Mr. Padley a role diametrically opposite to that of Walter Reuther. Instead of leading his members in vigorous struggles with management for higher wages and pensions, he is obliged, as a loyal supporter of the Labor government, to hold them back. Any other policy than that of wage restraint, he told the convention in his keynote speech, would mean "bitter rearguard actions to defend living standards in conditions of slump and insecurity. . . . Let no one deceive himself that a return to indiscriminate sectional wage bargaining, backed by guerrilla industrial warfare, is a better method of raising our real living standards than the policy pursued during the past five years by the trade unions and the Labor Party."

Communists led the opposition. One administration spokesman said: "It is no use saying the red bogy has been dragged into this debate. It has marched right up to the rostrum several times." Bert Ramelson, floor leader in the attack on wage restraint, had been a Communist candidate in the February general election. He had then won just 612 votes out of more than 40,000; on this occasion he had the satisfaction of seeing his resolution of censure carried by a thumping majority.

Only a small minority of the delegates were Communists, but on this issue their tactics were successful. They raised the traditional trade-union slogan, "Higher Wages *Now*," and it was irresistible to workers who had exhausted their patience waiting for a fall in the cost of living that never came. Padley and his colleagues on the executive board risked their own popularity for the sake of the future of the Labor government. The collapse of wage stabilization now would undermine the dikes so painfully erected against inflation; it would undo all the trade advantages of last year's devaluation.

Not all union leaders are above courting popularity by pushing irresponsible wage demands. J. B. Figgins, the railwaymen's leader, who fancies himself as the John L. Lewis of Britain, whipped up a number of wildcat strikes last year and may erupt again soon. A more serious offensive has been launched by the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, which is demanding a flat increase of $2.80 a week and preparing to distribute a million and a quarter strike ballots. The government maintains that this is a violation of the compulsory-arbitration regulations, but the unions claim they have a right to consult their members to find out whether they want to strike or not. If the government should insist on arbitration, a strike would be illegal, but it is hard to imagine anything more dangerous for the government than to enforce this law against hundreds of thousands of its loyal supporters.

Discontent is not confined to the left. The National Union of Teachers has just concluded a stormy annual convention with a vigorous demand for higher salaries all along the line. This union, which includes four-fifths of the country's teachers, is well to the right of center and is not even affiliated to the Trades Union Congress. But Laborites are keenly aware that it was among hard-pressed white-collar and professional workers that they suffered their heaviest losses in the February general election.

NO WONDER the Cabinet is more concerned about the drive for higher wages, on which five million workers are now embarked, than about any other problem, foreign or domestic. It seems no longer possible to pass the buck to the General Council of the Trades Union Congress. The council has never had much actual authority over the affiliated unions, but its moral prestige, painstakingly built up by Walter

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Citrine during his many years as general secretary, has been very great. It cannot maintain its position if its pleas for wage restraint are in vain. Moreover, the council's unity is threatened. Its discussions have become extremely heated. "I haven't heard such accents of naked class warfare in all my life," said one member as he emerged from a meeting.

From time to time representatives of the council troop over to government offices for a conference, but most important government leaders are "intellectuals," while most members of the General Council are not, and it is difficult for them to get together. Sir Stafford Cripps in particular has yet to win the confidence of the unions. Ernest Bevin has long served as a bridge between the two worlds, and council members are already dreading the time when he will be unavailable. Now that the government has such a precarious majority, these discussions are more comfortless than ever, for even if some drastic program could be framed, the government would have no power to carry it out.

The leaders of the individual unions also run into trouble if they try to take a national view of their responsibilities. Letters are already appearing in the correspondence columns of union journals which run something like this: "You tell us that workers should be grateful to the Labor government. Nonsense! It's our union that has really helped us. And now, when we ask for something, our union officials tell us, 'Don't ask for that; it will embarrass the government.' Let's vote in a government that we *can* embarrass!"

To judge from the heavy majorities Labor obtained in February in nearly all industrial areas, such sentiments are not yet widespread, but they are a threat of things to come. Workers naturally look to their trade unions for improvements in wages and working conditions. To let years pass by without any improvements—indeed, with a decline in real wages in some instances—is to put a severe strain on their loyalty. The Conservative Party has set up its own association of trade unionists to exploit grievances of this sort and claims one victory. A few days before the parliamentary debate it had requested on the government's powers to direct workers to essential industries, these powers were quietly relinquished by the Minister of Labor, George Isaacs. Laborites, of course, point out that they were rarely used, largely because of trade-union opposition. But their abandonment seems a milestone on the road away from central planning which the government is now traveling.

SOME people believe there is an inherent contradiction between trade unionism and socialism. "Trade unionism," said an American labor leader, "needs capitalism as a fish needs water." Many old-fashioned British Socialists, not all of them radicals by any means, would probably agree. They had expected that as Britain advanced step by step toward socialism, the trade unions would gradually wither away. It now appears that this is unlikely to happen. The two mass movements through which the Labor Party rose to power—the cooperative movement and the trade unions—have become such powerful vested interests that socialism, as the early zealots pictured it, must be fitted into their pattern. The cooperative movement has already killed the Labor Party's plans to nationalize industrial insurance, and it is likely to block public-ownership plans at other points. Its insistence on free choice for consumers will greatly complicate the problem of central planning.

As for the trade unions, the attachment of their leaders to traditional collective-bargaining techniques is an obstacle to rapid or far-reaching change. It leads them to distrust party theorists like the "Keep Left" group. "Those people have never done any collective bargaining," they say, much as business men in America charge New Dealers with "never having met a pay roll." Indeed, the union leaders tend to think of employers and themselves as practical men, in contrast to the visionary type of Socialist. When the competence of British management was attacked at one Labor Party conference, Arthur Deakin, the leader of Britain's largest union, rose in its defense. "Our management," he said, "is in no way inferior to that of any country in the world. . . . We are striving today to build up a measure of cooperation between management and the workers in industry, and I ask you to pause and consider before you accept the criticism that has been made."

British experience therefore argues strongly against the fear of some Americans that, once a Socialist Party gains power, it will go on and on with increasing momentum until everything is engulfed by an all-powerful state. In practice checks and balances speedily appear to slow down developments. Nor will endowing trade unions with political power lead to extremism. On the contrary, this generally has a moderating effect. If trade unions are to retain political power in a democracy, they must give more consideration to the interests of other groups than they would be likely to do if they were unburdened with political responsibility. Many observers believe that trade unionists here have been almost too willing to sacrifice their own interests. They have found it necessary to defend the present high level of private profits because of the lack of other sources of capital for investment. And they have been much too generous to the farmers, who seem to benefit more than any other group from a Labor regime. When Labor was in power in Australia, it held food prices high at the expense of its urban supporters in order to attract rural votes. And in both Norway and Britain, Laborites are beginning to see that one of their chief problems is how to resist the political and economic squeeze applied by rural interests.

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DANGEROUS THOUGHTS

FBI Index

I GUESS there is nothing harder these days than getting a liberal—or anybody else for that matter—to sign his name to a petition of protest. Violations of civil liberties occur that a few years back would have roused storms of liberal indignation, but today the sea of opinion is only disturbed when the wind blows in from the East.

The laugh, of course, is that most of these newly circumspect signature refusers have long since been added to the lists of the dangerous by the FBI, and more recently by the various private Legions which keep books on everybody not a Notre Dame graduate.

Which reminds me of a tale so perfect in its symbolism as to seem a little unbelievable. And yet it did happen, to an actor friend, in Germany.

He had been accepted by the Reinhardt Theater, a great honor, and after many years of struggle was expecting to be given leading roles. Then Hitler came in. My friend was Jewish. He could not tell you, in those days, whether Hitler was a Nazi or an Anarchist; all he knew or cared was how big a part he would have in the next production.

Curiously enough, the years went by and he was unmolested. He knew unusual things were happening, but they did not touch his life.

Then, in 1937, a good friend and fellow-actor—and a Nazi, by the way—took him into a dark corner one night and gave him a tip. The Gestapo was about to pick him up.

For an hour or so my friend debated whether his colleague was merely trying to get him to flee in order to take over his future fat parts, or whether he was telling the truth.

That night, returning to the room which he shared with a young Gentile lawyer, he told him the story. The roommate decided at once that just to be on the safe side they had better prepare for a visit from the dreaded secret police. And so, like many a liberal and ex-New Dealer of today—except that these Germans acted with more dispatch—they set about tying up their books into small bundles. For they had quite a collection of the works of Thomas Mann, Barbusse, Heine, Karl Marx, Aragon, and other writers who had been consigned to the Nazi hell.

Around midnight the actor and the lawyer took two bundles each and walked down the five flights of their apartment house to the street. They separated and each walked a few blocks and dropped his bundles into a waste can. Then they returned, carried down more bundles, and found other cans on other corners.

The shelves were just about clear of any book that had the slightest suggestion of an idea in its pages. They congratulated each other on their foresight, and then and there felt quite "German," even a little patriotic. No longer would they walk the city with a vague fear that they had left some terribly incriminating remnant of a non-Nazi thought behind.

In their new confidence they walked together with the last four bundles, dropping one at a time into cans along the way. And now, with only one bundle left, they were turning a corner when the actor noticed a man standing across the street. He could not be waiting for a tram because the car line was two blocks away. Nor were there any bars on this street.

The actor did not drop the last bundle but walked on rapidly, gripping his friend's arm. When they had gone a block they started to run, and then the actor took the bundle and threw it into a can.

At that moment he felt his heart stretching and he remembered that he had his name and address written in every book he had thrown away. He had literally advertised his apostasy.

He never returned to that room, and two days later he was across the border.

I used to think that an ironically amusing story. But the humor has gone out of it, somehow. I keep remembering a letter I received from Washington one day in 1940. I had written to the State Department protesting something or other—I forget now what it was, maybe something to do with Spain—and the reply said that my letter had been filed and contents noted. The reply came from the FBI. I had not written to the FBI. But of course I had. So have an awful lot of people who don't know it. But they will. Anti-fascism and communism are the same thing to the little men who rule the roost these days. What some of us think we have thrown away was not thrown away at all—it was collected.

THE OBSERVER

That's VANSITTART, ace spy-catcher (his real name is Dick BarTon), discovering the plans of the new Hydrogen Bomb traced on the back of the Dean of Crankybury
Common Man

HOW OUR GREAT INSTITUTIONS ARE CONDUCTED.

London *Daily Herald*

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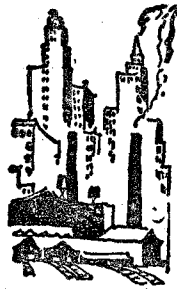

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The New Boom

IN ITS forecast for 1950, issued on October 31, 1949, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics expressed the view that in the course of the next twelve months "a further slight reduction in economic activity and a relatively slow decline in prices appear likely." Writing in *The Nation* of November 26, 1949, I ventured to disagree, suggesting that the bureau had underestimated "the reflationary effects of the unbalanced federal budget." Public outlay, national and local, it seemed to me, might very well offset the expected declines in private investment and the export surplus—two of the mainstays of the post-war boom.

With one-third of 1950 behind us, there is no longer doubt that the bureau was unduly cautious last fall. The boom is not only continuing but showing signs of even greater vitality than the optimists had expected. At the New Year most business prophets were fairly confident about conditions during the next six months but were saying that a setback must be anticipated after midsummer. Now we are being told that many industries have a growing accumulation of orders—enough to keep them humming through the third quarter and perhaps longer. "The recovery (running since last August)," the National City Bank notes in its May *Letter*, "is still under strong momentum. . . . It seems that confidence in the outlook for the second half of the year has improved."

The Federal Reserve index of industrial production was 186 per cent of the 1935-39 average in March, five points higher than in February and two points higher than a year earlier. April's showing is expected to be as good or better. Employment advanced impressively between March and April, with an increase of 1,100,000. As a result, 585,000 people were removed from the ranks of the jobless, and places were found for nearly as many new entrants into industry and agriculture.

Among the booming industries construction, automobiles, steel, and electrical appliances, including television, are outstanding. In the first four months of this year total construction outlay was $6,100,000,000, or 20 per cent above 1949. Housing alone was 50 per cent higher, and a decline in private non-residential construction was nearly balanced by an increase in public works. Automobile output in the first quarter totaled 1,342,000 units—an all-time record, despite the prolonged Chrysler strike. The steel industry has been operating at near-capacity since the coal stoppage ended, and leading companies are reporting full order books, which will insure continued activity through the third quarter. Television makers turned out 1,200,000 sets in the first three months of the year, and although some slackening in sales is expected during the summer months, it may do little more than assist manufacturers to catch up with orders. No doubt a saturation point will be reached in time, but bulls of television stocks profess to believe that this lies well in the future. Meanwhile the craze is giving a fillip to the furniture industry, which is busy producing "video-viewing" chairs, love-seats, and hassocks.

Of more serious import is news of a pick-up in industrial investment, which the Department of Commerce originally believed would be 16 per cent lower in 1950 than in 1949. Since the New Year, however, this forecast has been twice revised, and a drop of no more than 8 per cent is now expected. The *Wall Street Journal* of May 1 reported that many industrial concerns were reconsidering plans for enlarging their plants or building new ones—plans which had been pigeonholed last year.

Prices, on the whole, have proved stable this year, but the trend appears to be up rather than down. Several metals have recently risen rather sharply and so have some farm commodities. However, it is generally believed that rates of production—and the possibilities of expanding them—are such that there is no serious danger of demand outrunning supply. Moreover, increased efficiency is helping to cut costs. There is no excuse, Robert A. Weaver, president of the Ferro Enamel Corporation, told a *Wall Street Journal* reporter, for advancing prices: "new plant equipment, running near capacity, is keeping costs in line despite higher wages and pensions."

With business booming, with profits bountiful in many industries, with the stock exchanges stronger and more active than for years past, it would seem that business men ought to be feeling reasonably cheerful. Yet no gathering of industrial tycoons takes place without the singing of dirges for the sad fate of private enterprise. Leading business executives are always protesting that the high cost of government is wrecking the economy and that taxes are beyond all bearing. "In the capital-goods field," said Lewis H. Brown, chairman of Johns Manville Corporation, to the Executive Sales Club of New York on April 25, "employers and investors are drained of the funds to further expand, modernize, and reequip industry because of the government's policy of excessive taxation." Yet we learn that at the end of 1949 the working capital of United States corporations was $67,700,000,000, an all-time high and $2,900,000,000 more than a year earlier. Moreover, in the same period they were able to invest $16,100,000,000 in new plant, making a total increase in assets, fixed and liquid, of $19,000,000,000. How can one square such figures with moans about shortage of capital?

Business men, it appears, still "lack confidence" even though business is booming. Sometimes I think that is just as well, for at a time like this, when there is a good deal of inflationary potential in the atmosphere, too much business confidence could cause a lot of trouble. If business men now felt, as they did in 1929, that they had discovered the recipe for unending prosperity, they would be eagerly accumulating inventories rather than keeping a watchful eye on them; and common stocks, instead of mounting sedately, might be going through the roof. So perhaps we should be grateful for the persecution complex of our private enterprisers. If they were really feeling their oats, they would very likely upset the apple cart.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Mencken—Buffoon of Truth

THE IRREVERENT MR. MENCKEN. By Edgar Kemler. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown and Company. $3.50.

TODAY the American renaissance in literature is likely to mean the decade of the 1850's, when the best work of Hawthorne, Melville, Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman was published. In the hopeful 1920's it meant the present moment. A literature, so it seemed, was coming to life again, or perhaps even living for the first time; America had come of age at last, and suddenly, almost in a day. Within a few months of the decade three masterpieces appeared—"Jurgen," "Main Street," and "This Side of Paradise." (You could recognize a new masterpiece so easily in those days, by the rage of the respectable against it.)

It was the age of iconoclasts, "gay fellows," Mencken has defined them, "who heaved dead cats into sanctuaries." These heretics banded together in a common cause soon developed their own orthodoxy and reverence. Of all those who brought the tidings to the unrighteous that righteousness was a sham, Mencken was the most revered. To the "young intellectuals" he was, as one of them, Edmund Wilson, put it, "the civilized consciousness of modern America." Burton Rascoe in 1922 went farther and suggested that Mencken's place was in the company of Voltaire, Montaigne, Swift, and Samuel Butler.

Edgar Kemler begins his admirable biography with a similar invocation of great names but for a different purpose—not to glorify his subject but to rebuke him: "As I see him, Mr. Mencken is a skeptic of the first rank—an American Rabelais, Swift, or Shaw—who has somehow abused his gifts." This seems an unkind way for a biographer to set about his business, even if his business is, as we used to think in the 1920's, the unflattering truth. Mr. Kemler certainly never flatters, is often severe in his judgments, approves of very little of what Mencken wrote ("except for 'The American Language,' the 'Days' books, and a few selections from the others, [he] has produced no works likely to endure"). But his book as a whole is kinder than the sum of its parts. The disapproval of Mencken's career is balanced by an admiration of his personal qualities which is the more persuasive for being left to the reader's discernment rather than to the author's adjectives.

Mencken is revealed as a shrewd and at times surprisingly cautious tactician in the war against puritanism. When "The 'Genius'" was suppressed he first advised Dreiser to surrender and make the cuts that Comstockery demanded; after he joined the fight Mencken wanted it fought on his terms, without the aid of "tenth-rate village geniuses" like Floyd Dell and Max Eastman, who would frighten off influential Authors' League members. At the Scopes monkey trial in Dayton, Tennessee, a much showier and less important fight, Mencken had his opportunity as a tactical master and laid out a brilliant plan of combat: to ignore the legal issue, the legislature's constitutional right to make a fool of itself, and to concentrate on the folly involved, Bryan's views on evolution. At Dayton he was unconsciously brave, for he could not take seriously the threat to ride him out of town on a rail; the next year in Boston he had to be the conscious hero. Behind his gaudy arrest on a Boston street corner for selling the issue of the *American Mercury* containing Hatrack—a drab sketch of a small-town prostitute—we see a scared man bravely risking jail.

Because Mr. Kemler's method is so strictly biographical and he has so little to say about Mencken's voluminous writing, Mencken is presented on the whole at his worst, as the practical rather than the literary connoisseur of idiocy. The perilous high point of this career is an achievement in publicity—the triumphal cross-country tour in 1926 of the great boob-killer, frolicking with the boobs in a mood of self-torture or mockery, donning a fire chief's hat at a New Orleans convention, arranging a phony Hollywood welcome for Hergesheimer. Mencken's fall is shown much as it appeared to his followers, as a dramatic apostasy in the 1930's when he joined the Babbitts in the fight against the New Deal and flirted with crackpot isolationists. It is a grim, unpleasant story, and the biographer is here at his best in telling a hard truth in its least unpleasant, least hurtful terms, yet preserving for truth's sake all of its hardness. The impact of Mencken's unhappy last years is perhaps the greater because Mr. Kemler has somewhat skimped the happier early ones—a disproportion which I suspect arises from a desire to be fair to his readers and to avoid repeating the material already published in Mencken's autobiographical volumes.

One can of course turn the apostasy around and say that it was not Mencken who betrayed his early views but his early views that betrayed him. His antipathy to reform and uplift in all their varieties can be found in stories he wrote for the Baltimore *Herald* as early as 1901. He had always believed that death was the great improver of the race; it was, however, gayer to be told in the twenties that quacks and war killed off fools who lacked sufficient sense to consult doctors or be draft-dodgers than to be told in the thirties of the depression's salutary destructive effects. When he turned suburban Republican and with Dionysian frenzy attacked the Brain Trusters who would make the deserving rich the slaves of the shiftless poor, he was as much a Nietzschean as he had been when with a more pleasing rage he had said that the Mann act and prohibition were the result of the yokel's resentment against the city man's good times in Atlantic City. Strange racist doctrines were behind his most liberal utterances. In his famous "Sahara of the Bozart" one of his reasons for finding Southern treatment of the Negro grotesquely unjust was that the Negro was the true racial aristocrat, with the best blood of the old South in his veins, whereas his new oppressors, the former poor whites, were descended from extremely corrupt strains.

It would be easy, perhaps too easy,

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to dismiss Mencken as right in his time and place but right for the wrong reasons. He chose the role of the buffoon of truth. The fault may be not in his choice but in the fact that he never played the part extravagantly enough; he did not, and, in the conformist age in which he lived and against which he roared, probably could not thoroughly let himself go; his own jokes too rarely matched in wildness the archetypal joke that he thought he saw in the universe. He has some of the traits, never fully developed, of a very great and peculiarly American product of the Enlightenment, the crank of high integrity. His belief in freedom of opinion has been more literal than we find completely comfortable or even meaningful today. Like a truly free man he has been concerned with freedom first for himself. But his present biography is a monument to his belief in its reality for others; for his biographer tells us, and we can see it on every page of this quietly honest book, that Mr. Mencken contributed generously to its facts and let its author write as he pleased.

JAMES GROSSMAN

Mr. Dulles's Foreign Policy

WAR OR PEACE. By John Foster Dulles. The Macmillan Company. Cloth $2.50; paper $1.

MR. DULLES has written an admirable book which it is to be hoped will become as widely known as Wendell Willkie's "One World." The two books, however, are different in tone, for the international climate has suffered an indescribable change for the worse since the days when Mr. Willkie, like men of good-will everywhere, looked forward to a post-war world in which the United States and the Soviet Union could work together. These hopes have been bitterly deceived by Soviet imperialism, and Mr. Acheson is now calling for "total diplomacy," while Mr. Hoover wants nothing less than the expulsion of the Soviet Union and other Communist countries from the United Nations.

Mr. Dulles, on the other hand, not only wants to keep the Soviet Union in the United Nations but would solve the deadlock on the admission of new members by electing all applicants, Communist or otherwise, which actually exercise effective control over their people. Thirty per cent of the world's population, as he points out, is now controlled by Communist governments, and he holds that the voting strength in the United Nations should reflect this fact. Accordingly he would admit not only the countries sponsored by the Western powers, whose applications have been vetoed by the Soviet Union, but those sponsored by the Soviet Union, which have been kept out by the Western powers. Mr. Dulles would even support the admission of Communist China, once its ability to govern China "without serious domestic resistance" has been tested "over a reasonable period of time."

Lest Senator McCarthy should now turn his guns on "War or Peace" as a Soviet handbook, it is only fair to add that Mr. Dulles apparently would make universality of membership conditional upon amendments to the United Nations Charter which have little chance of getting past a Soviet veto. And he blames United States policy—specifically the attempt after the war to persuade Chiang Kai-shek to form a coalition government, including Communists—for the collapse of the Nationalist regime.

This of course is sound Republican doctrine, and is part of Mr. Dulles's claim that the United States has succeeded in Western Europe because a bipartisan policy was followed there, and that it failed in China because Republicans were not allowed to help make the decisions. However, it is hardly consistent for Mr. Dulles to attack the coalition-government proposal without some reference to the fact that General Marshall presented it. President Truman, it is true, issued the instructions on which General Marshall acted, but certainly General Marshall would not have gone to China if he had not been in complete agreement with his instructions. Three years later, as Secretary of State, General Marshall reversed this policy, but—mistaken or otherwise—it certainly was his policy in the beginning.

However, this is one of the few party claims in a book which not only gives valuable behind-the-scenes information on the formulation and execution of the bipartisan policy but presents convincing arguments for reviewing and broadening that policy to cover China and cope with the entire sea of troubles confronting the democratic nations. It is obvious, in fact, that unless Mr. Acheson can get Republican support, our government cannot hope to deal effectively with the present crisis. As the McCarthys have made only too clear, the Republican Party is drifting back to the isolationism of the '20's, using the Communist bogy as a pretext. Now that Senator Vandenberg's health has given way, Mr. Dulles and his colleague as a State Department adviser, Mr. Cooper, share the heavy responsibility of halting this trend. The role they must play is all the more important because of the fact that only Republicans—not Democrats—can now provide the support that our foreign policy must have.

As "War or Peace" demonstrates, Mr. Dulles brings the qualities of an enlightened conservative to the great task of halting Soviet expansion by peaceful means. He holds that France, not Germany, should be the cornerstone of our policy in Western Europe; he warns that it would be fatal to allow the new countries of Asia to get the impression that we favor keeping them in their colonial status; he insists that military considerations alone must not be allowed to control our foreign policy, for "to get an air base at the price of good-will may be a very bad bargain."

Above all, Mr. Dulles emphasizes the importance of spiritual factors, the necessity of combating communism with faith in the democratic way of life. To be sure, his conception of the way democracy should operate is not shared by all, and his senatorial campaign last year showed that on domestic issues he is poles apart from the Truman Administration—some might say he was roughly of the Coolidge era. On foreign affairs, moreover, some of his views are certainly open to question. But in a democracy such diversity of views should be not merely tolerated but welcomed, provided always that they are the product of far-seeing patriotism.

We must all hope that Mr. Dulles is right when he says that war, although probable, is not inevitable, and that an intelligent foreign policy has at least a good chance of keeping the peace. It is all to the good that Mr. Dulles now has the double responsibility of helping to formulate such a policy and of beating

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off isolationist attacks. President Truman, who at one time was said to resent Mr. Dulles's attacks on the Administration during the senatorial campaign, is to be congratulated on an appointment which rose above party lines.

THOMAS J. HAMILTON

The Nature of Private Enterprise

INTELLECTUAL CAPITALISM. By Johannes Alasco. World University Press. $3.

THE CULTURE OF INDUSTRIAL MAN. By Paul Meadows. University of Nebraska Press. $3.75.

THE STRUCTURE OF AMERICAN INDUSTRY. Edited by Walter Adams. The Macmillan Company. $4.75.

BACK in the early nineteen thirties Berle and Means, in "The Modern Corporation and Private Property," demonstrated convincingly that the actual structure of contemporary American capitalism is quite different from what most people think it is.

Justice Brandeis and Thorstein Veblen, among others, had already suggested that there were considerable discrepancies between popular conceptions and reality. But the myths have persisted, and during the last twenty years a considerable number of writers, including those under review, have restated the facts and added to the evidence without making any great change in popular notions about the nature of private enterprise. Defenders of classical liberalism and Marxian theory still argue as if the world had not changed in a hundred years.

All three of these books recognize that it has changed. But Alasco, described on the jacket as the pseudonym of a Polish political scientist now living in America, still accepts the idea of class struggle at practically face value, and says flatly that "the strong and imaginative characters furnish social leadership. The weak and unimaginative ones form the following." Although he has some astute things to say about the relationships of workers, stockholders, and management in modern corporations, he rejects democracy as an illusion, and comes to a conclusion very little different from Burnham's "The Managerial Revolution." The technicians are today's élite, and will inevitably rule, no matter what the nominal political organization of society may be. The conclusion is almost inescapable from the premise that there will always be a ruling class, but the premise is assumed and not proved.

Professor Paul Meadows of the University of Nebraska has undertaken a more ambitious project. His approach is primarily sociological rather than economic; he begins with the statement that "the quest of the modern industrial man is a search for significance as a human being." The book makes one of the most successful efforts in recent years to rehabilitate the word "liberal," to rescue it alike from the reactionaries and the totalitarian radicals. And it offers a program of social adjustment which is intelligent and hopeful, if a little vague in terms of political realities.

Meadows's formula for contemporary liberalism is a strong welfare state which still has limited powers, and he emphasizes the importance of other groups and agencies. He writes, "The State alone cannot achieve the common good; this has been the tragic misconception of Europe. It must, in the liberal philosophy at least, be the first among equals."

Unfortunately, the book is marred by a turgid, academic style which will probably discourage most readers except the students to whom it is assigned as a text. A writer who uses "The Stratigraphy of Liberalism" as a subhead can scarcely expect a wide audience.

"The Structure of American Industry" is also intended primarily as a textbook, although the editor expresses a hope that it will find readers outside the classroom. It fully deserves to, despite the fact that it is moderately heavy going in spots.

Up to now no economic theory has achieved a sufficiently universal acceptance to form the basis for a science, and consequently the solid work in economics is still the assembling and coordination of facts. In this symposium a first-rate group of experts have attempted to summarize the actual conditions of thirteen American industries. Making allowance for necessary condensation, they have done an excellent job. The editor has been more than usually successful in keeping his authors

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to a common pattern by insisting that each study, along with a factual presentation, should discuss the relation between current practices in the industry and theoretically pure competition. Taken together, the essays leave the impression that where competition is keenest, conditions are the worst—and some form of government intervention most inevitable.

The book should convince any but the blind that no major industry in the United States is now operating in accordance with classical economic theory, and that neither political nor practical considerations can permit such operation. At the same time most of the authors seem to favor maintenance of competition to the extent that this is possible, with rather strictly limited government intervention. They describe a mixed economy, and approve it, with recommendations for improvement.

A natural conclusion from reading all three books is that our knowledge of the theories and facts of economics is still so limited that no dogmatic prescription is justified. But it seems improbable that political action can await the further development of either theory or facts, and all three are a bit weak on the side of practical politics.

CHARLES E. NOYES

"... a Voice of Trembling, of Fear and not of Peace"

THE ROOT AND THE BOUGH. The Epic of an Enduring People. Edited by Leo W. Schwarz. Rinehart and Company. $3.75.

"THE ROOT AND THE BOUGH" again convinces us that books, like men, have their own special fate. How else can we explain the great success of John Hersey's "The Wall," while the book under review, treating what is in essence the same theme, has met with virtually no response among the wide reading public? Yet "The Root and the Bough" is certainly in no way inferior to the Hersey novel, and most of the writing has an immediacy surpassing that in "The Wall."

This volume is a record of Jewish suffering and martyrdom, a first-hand account of man's inhumanity to man. It is a compilation of thirty-three stories told in the first person by survivors of the Nazi program of extermination. (I wonder why the editor included nothing by Mordecai Strigler, who has done some of the most powerful writing on this theme.) The material consists in the main of excerpts from books published originally in Yiddish. In that language the tragedy of Hitler's Europe has been a central theme for a decade, not only for those writers who directly experienced the tragedy but for those as well who escaped its physical impact. And if the writing of the second group reflects a deeply felt sense of guilt, it could hardly be otherwise when even the survivors frequently ask themselves: "How did you manage to survive when millions perished? Are you sure you have not somehow, somewhere betrayed?"

The writing in this volume, powerful and effective, offers no nuances. It is terse and direct; black and white is its most natural expression, describing as it does a humanity divided into killer and killed. To quote a "routine" daily occurrence in the ghetto: "Those who survived both German bullets and gas committed suicide, for there was no other way out. Lurek Willner called up all the fighters to die together. Lutek Rotblat shot his mother, his sister, and finally himself. Ruth fired at herself seven times."

Page after page of factual evidence go to form a shattering and terrifying image of horror created by the powerful writing of the talented Yiddish poets and writers Abraham Sutzkever, Mark Dworzecki, Bernard Goldstein, and many others.

One cannot forget the tender, radiant Françoise, whose story is related by a former ghetto doctor, George Weller. Françoise, he tells us, could have been saved, but she would not run away, and she died later in Camp Birkenau. She

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told the doctor, "I did it because I thought it was my duty to help those who were more unfortunate than I. . . . If through some misfortune hate should triumph, it will not stop with the Jews. Something else will be invented." And the doctor, in concluding her story, asks, "Will her death serve the cause of good-will and justice in an evil world as she hoped it would?" Now after five years of "peace" Dr. Weller's question has lost none of its poignancy.

The record of Nazi atrocities, that exhibition of the almost immeasurable potential of man for brutality and inhumanity, destroys any credence in the centuries-old faith in man's capacity for justice and good-will. In these accounts of unrelieved horror the infrequent noble act bewilders rather than comforts us. For the total effect is of man's utter propensity for evil. This destruction of faith is the sole achievement of the Nazis. ELIEZER GREENBERG

Art and Logic

AESTHETICS. A Study of the Fine Arts in Theory and Practice. By James K. Feibleman. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $5.

THE pursuit of the absolute goes on perennially. One would not mind, perhaps, if it were less often crowned with success. This is not a paradox. As human beings we are possessed by the desire for universal order, a desire underlying much human achievement. But often the very intensity of the desire itself fathers new systems, and the legitimacy of such parentage is obviously suspect. Disorder, not order, would appear to be served when each new philosopher urges his own new absolute. Yet perhaps this is a necessary condition of human progress.

The history of aesthetics has been punctuated from time to time with these all-embracing theories. Coleridge once projected an essay on poetry which "would be in reality a disguised system of morals and politics." He was sure that if he wrote what he ought to, "the work would supersede all the books of metaphysics, and all the books of morals too." He saved himself by never completing the essay—which was wise of him. Mr. Feibleman claims somewhat less, but he too has an all-embracing theory which, if valid, would effect two very remarkable revolutions in the world of art. It would make possible an "objective" mathematical measurement of the value of any work, and this then would teach artists how to improve steadily upon their predecessors as scientists have done. Mr. Feibleman aims to destroy all "subjectivist" theories and to establish art as an entirely "objective," logical construction independent of humanity. "It is perhaps true," he grants, "that art would never have existed were it not for the activity of human beings" (*perhaps* is the notable word here). "At present," man is also the only being capable of appreciating art. Nevertheless, man's participation is little more than accidental, for the aesthetic value itself is non-human.

Mr. Feibleman's aesthetic rests upon a philosophy deriving ultimately from Plato. His language may be the language of Aristotle—or of Ruskin, Whitehead, or Charles Peirce, to whom the author is especially devoted—but the voice is clearly Plato's. Our material world is imperfect; but the universe of "possibility" or pure "being," the author believes, is complete, perfect, and governed by the laws of logic (logic apparently identical with the formal logic of undergraduate textbooks, with a bias toward deductive reasoning). Art, we are told, is founded on this same ideal system and imitates "things as they ought to be." The artistic genius first chooses his "postulates." After that, "he may exercise the remainder of his ingenuity in the determination of what deductions may be drawn and in what order. In a perfect work of art all possible deductions would be drawn." The artist need not realize his logic consciously, but he uses it nevertheless; and since logic, according to the school Mr. Feibleman follows, is not a human tool but the law of universal "being," the value of the artist's work is not a human but an absolute one. It is thus on a par with science and subject to mathematical evaluation.

The author is not yet ready to give us an algebraic formula guaranteed to produce a single-valued answer for everything. He does, however, establish a hierarchy ranging from drama at top to sculpture at bottom. He offers four "tools," mathematical "sets of coordinates" for measurement, which he

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names "seriality," "complexity-dimensions," "integrality-property," and "intensity-breadth"; and shows us how to operate the second of these tools by applying it to two paintings by Van Gogh, a self-portrait and the still-life of sunflowers. Counting "parts, subparts, and relations," he arrives at scores of 88 and 118. So with reference to "complexity-dimensions" the still-life wins by exactly thirty points. As we understand the system, the sunflowers' lead might have been reduced to twenty-five by addition, say, of five buttons to the painter's coat.

Why, one must ask, is an intelligent, sensitive, philosophically learned human being impelled to all this in the name of logic? Is man so unable to bear uncertainties that he must choose between Marxist absolutes and these of Mr. Feibleman? His cannot be set down to personal oddity, to academic naivete (the author is professor of philosophy at Tulane), or to the insecurities of modern life, for this kind of thought is as old as Plato. It attracted the sensible eighteenth century when Hogarth with the aid of a cone discovered the absolute in linear beauty; Ruskin hovered on the fringes of mathematical absolutes; the notion arises today in such work as Birkhoff's, which Mr. Feibleman cites. These writers are all more unscientific and mystical than the opponents they condemn as irrational. We may grant that should a time ever come when our knowledge of the human psyche, and of everything else, would enable us to deduce any man's thought and action, past and future, by pure logic, and to regulate his love life by equations, we should then perhaps have an adequate basis for mathematical evaluation of "Hamlet." Mr. Feibleman should have awaited that day.

His work is significant as model and warning. Apart from its style, which is materially below Plato's standard, it is as good as can be done in this kind. It is perhaps the most carefully reasoned and least dogmatic of all the dogmatic "discoveries" of aesthetic absolutes. Yet as a whole it is irrational, not rational, and the very thoroughness of its argument should make it a final demonstration of the futility of its species.

There is an interesting and, in parts, quite sound chapter on tragedy. The discussion of poetry, however, falls particularly short. All is made to depend on rhythm and meter; yet the author's knowledge of metrics appears insufficient for his purpose. He characterizes Keats, gratuitously and inaccurately, as "the ignorant stable boy" and T. S. Eliot as "the Missouri Anglophile" who "will be forgotten altogether except as a kind of historical oddity or curiosity in the nineteen sixties." The rather frothing tirade on Eliot, however, is one of the author's few lapses from academic urbanity. ELISABETH SCHNEIDER

Books in Brief

LETTERS OF THOMAS CARLYLE TO WILLIAM GRAHAM. Edited by John Graham, Jr. Princeton University Press. $2.50. This lovingly edited and illustrated little book contains some two dozen hitherto unpublished Carlyle letters written between 1820 and 1849 to William Graham, a retired Glasgow merchant who lived near Ecclefechan, an esteemed, older friend. They are talkative, largely concerned with parochial matters, and pleasant to dip into. If they tell us nothing new about Carlyle, they do give a picture of his early literary career and of life at Ecclefechan and Craigenputtock. Their lightness and sometimes even their gaiety will come as a surprise to those who are familiar only with the fulminations of the Chelsea sage.

THE PARADOX OF OSCAR WILDE. By George Woodcock. Macmillan. $3.50. Mr. Woodcock's book is an attempt to come to a judgment of Wilde's writing, of his "significance in literature and social thought." His attitude is a trifle worshipful, but he is never uncritical and he wisely keeps himself as clear as possible of biographical controversy, focusing on the works and tracing with a somewhat sketchy scholarship Wilde's intellectual backgrounds. What emerges is an oversimplified portrait of a schizoid: aesthetic clown and serious artist, pagan and Christian, playboy and prophet. In a work so serious in intent the frequent lack of specific references for quotations and of any useful footnotes is infuriating.

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

CHRISTOPHER FRY'S "A Phoenix Too Frequent" wasn't. Long before this review can appear it will have departed from the Fulton Theater, but it deserves a notice none the less. Mr. Fry is, of course, the reigning London sensation, and two more of his plays are promised here next season. Moreover, he is not, as Rosalind says, "for all tastes," and prospective spectators should be warned what they are in for.

As for me, I found his brief skit—it is hardly more—both highly diverting and, in its odd, mannered way, a little bit more than that. The story is simply the old tale of the Ephesian matron who resolved to die in her husband's tomb but changed her mind when a handsome soldier appeared. Mr. Fry even follows this story all the way to the conclusion where the once inconsolable wife suggests the obvious solution to the difficulty of her new lover, who has lost one of the corpses he is supposed to be guarding. Nevertheless, this is certainly the most amiable version ever told of a cynical story, and in an interview with the press Mr. Fry solemnly assures us—tongue certainly feeling for his cheek if not actually in it—that the moral is good and cheerful: life must always take precedence over death.

The author's very special and undeniable gift is not so much intellectual as verbal, and what makes the play—that is, if you think it is made at all—is his way with words. Three centuries ago the title page would have described it as "a pleasant conceited comedy," and that is exactly what it is, for its whole manner is obviously based on the wit writing of the seventeenth century or, it might perhaps be more accurate to say, upon the attempt of a school of modern poets to learn that trick. Most members of this modern school have been more successful in imitating the tortured ingenuities and the solemn pretensions of the style, but Mr. Fry is interested in the fun of it, and the result is dialogue full of tinkling charm and refined bawdy. Perhaps we should call his play the first modern metaphysical comedy.

At his most obvious Mr. Fry goes in for effects as simple as that achieved when the wife rapturously recounts her dream in which the dead husband appears as a ship sailing majestically along "with his stern prow and his proud stern." At his nearest approach to what might be taken for solemnity he has this same wife, remembering the common-sense efficiency of that same husband, explain; "His mind was an ironing board for all rumpled indecision." In between there is every variety of idiom pleasantly distorted and of metaphor aptly inept. Mr. Fry never ceases to pull our legs, but if one knows what is happening that is a not unpleasant process.

Under the circumstances I think I had best leave to others all large consideration of what the popularity of Mr. Fry in London means and what relation it has to the vogue of "The Cocktail Party" here. At least Mr. Eliot and Mr. Fry have one thing in common, since they are both trying to get poetry back into the theater through some back door. Mr. O'Neill tried to get along on prose; Mr. Anderson to make use of completely traditional verse; Mr. Eliot himself, in former plays, to use on the stage his own difficult idiom. None of these methods worked as well as one might have hoped. Now Mr. Eliot begins at the beginning again with verse which is almost prose, and Mr. Fry tries a version of neo-seventeenth-century conceit writing, gay enough and simple enough to be caught when spoken. Obviously if poetry does not come back, it will not be because it didn't try.

As for the performance at the Fulton it was put on by two very young men plainly not without imagination and daring. They provided an attractive set and three actors who were at least, in the original not the depraved sense of the word, "adequate." Vicki Cummings as the wife's maid—a sort of Roman tramp who preferred gentlemen as much as they preferred her—was often quite funny, though her methods were a good deal broader than what the text called for.

The title still puzzles me. The wife rose from the ashes of her dead life quickly but only once. This phoenix was not so much too frequent as too prompt. Perhaps I should add that Mr. Fry has some very good fun with the paradox of romantic chastity. The soldier loved the matron because she was so faithful to the memory of her husband. But no sooner, of course, does he love her than he wants her to cease immediately to be what he loved in the first place. Donne would have liked that, but I don't remember that he ever discussed the difficulty.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

VERDI'S music for "Falstaff" is largely point-to-point invention for the words; and some of this invention—*e.g.*, the opening uproar—is only the product of an experienced artist's resourcefulness; but much of the time—*e.g.*, in the scene of Falstaff's interviews with Dame Quickly and Ford—it is a succession of marvels of subtly contrived expressive point, wit, and loveliness. Why, then, is the work not popular? Possibly because of the very sub-

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tlety of its marvels. And if anyone points to the subtlety and popularity of Mozart's "Figaro" the answer is that in "Figaro" there is also constant large-scale melody, whereas in "Falstaff" the point-to-point invention includes melody as lovely as Dame Quickly's *un angelo che innamora* or Mistress Ford's *Ogni più bel giojel mi nuoce*, but for most part also as brief—the two duets and two arias of Nanetta and Fenton being the only examples of extended lyricism.

Yet every scene has ended in a storm of applause whenever I have heard the work conducted by Toscanini; and perhaps what it needs, to become endeared to the public, is more performances like the one he broadcast a few weeks ago. It was a performance in which, as always, the music was clear in outline and texture, right in pace and shape, and this time dazzling in its lightness and impetus; a performance, also, in which it was beautifully played by the N. B. C. Symphony and superbly sung for the the most part by the singers. Of these several were outstanding: Teresa Stich-Randall (Nanetta), for the exquisite quality of her lyric soprano voice and the absolute technical, rhythmic, and musical security of her singing; Cloe Elmo (Dame Quickly), for her magnificent contralto voice and her terrific dramatic—*i.e.*, humorous—projection; Giuseppe Valdengo (Falstaff), for singing which again made effective use of all the flexibility and coloring of his remarkable dramatic baritone voice; Frank Guarrera (Ford), for his beautiful baritone voice and his dramatically effective use of it; and Norman Scott (Pistola), for his rich bass voice, which had greater sonority this year. Herva Nelli (Mistress Ford) and Nan Merriman (Mistress Page) also sang well; and the only inadequacy was the lack in Antonio Madasi's tenor voice of the sensuous beauty required by Fenton's music.

The performance was another example of Toscanini's achievement of the utmost communicative effect by the utmost accuracy—accuracy in tempo, sonority, phrasing, balance, and in particular balance of orchestra and voices. He took great pains to keep the orchestra from covering the singers' words—in the studio; but then the performance was sent out over the air with the singers' voices stepped up to the point where they covered the orchestra.

Something nearer the right relation of voice and orchestra—in which the orchestra is heard clearly around the voice—is achieved in a Columbia recording of Guarrera's performance of Ford's Monologue with the Metropolitan Opera Orchestra under Cleva. The record (ML-2114) also offers on the one hand Guarrera's excellent performances of the Credo from "Otello," *Eri tu* from "Un Ballo in Maschera" (in which the voice is sharply cut off a couple of times in strange fashion), and *Largo al factotum* from "Il Barbiere di Siviglia," and on the other hand arias from "Pagliacci" and "Andrea Chenier," and thus provides a good example of the bad practice of putting on one LP record an assemblage of short pieces on different levels of style and value that do not belong together. The orchestral accompaniments are very good.

Cetra-Soria has issued a complete "Falstaff" in a set (1207) of three LP records. With Toscanini's performance still in my mind I find Mario Rossi's tempos now too fast, now too slow, and I don't like the singers'—especially Giuseppe Taddei's—vocal affectations and extravagances. His voice is a fine one, as is Saturno Meletti's (Ford); the voice of Rosanna Carteri (Mistress Ford) is lovely, except for an occasional sharp edge; Amalia Pini (Dame Quickly) and Anna Maria Canali (Mistress Page) are fair; the edge on Lina Pagliughi's voice (Nanetta) is ear-lacerating; and both the voice and style of Emilio Renzi (Fenton) are coarse. With treble drastically cut down the recorded sound is good.

From RCA Victor has come an album (DM-1351, 3 12″) with another objectionable assemblage of pieces which don't belong together—the Credo from "Otello," *Eri tu* from "Un Ballo," *Cortigiani, vil razza* from "Rigoletto," *Il balen* from "Il Trovatore," and on the other hand arias from "Pagliacci" and "Cavalleria." Robert Merrill sings them sonorously, blanketing the accompaniments by a skimpy-sounding Victor orchestra that is conducted—for no obvious reason—by Arthur Fiedler.

On a Victor single (12-1076) Italo Tajo sings *Non più andrai* from "Figaro" well, but hams up *La calumnia* from "Il Barbiere di Siviglia," getting out of step with the orchestra conducted by Morel. And on another single (10-1528) Peerce sings *Questa o quella* and *La donna è mobile* from "Rigoletto" with good vocal tone, but with exaggerated staccato jauntiness, to accompaniments conducted by Leinsdorf.

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Letters to the Editors

A Puzzling Shift

Dear Sirs: I am puzzled, as others must be, by Edward Crankshaw's evaluation [in *The Nation,* March 18] of James Burnham's "The Coming Defeat of Communism." Crankshaw's own analysis of the sources of Soviet conduct in "Russia and the Russians" (1948) closed with a plea for "restraint and coolness and understanding."

> Russia is one more fact of life, and a decisive one. . . . We can ignore it: it will overwhelm us. We can seek to destroy it: we shall destroy ourselves. We can throw ourselves into its arms: it will absorb us with scarcely a trace. Thus the only answer, as it seems to me, is that our whole conception of society, of the way in which human beings live together, will have to be remodeled to allow for this new and unprecedented fact.

Crankshaw's thesis then was the possibility of the peaceful coexistence of two systems.

Burnham's book, from beginning to end, is a denial of this possibilty and a plea for a war of annihilation. Thus, page 27: "There is only one possible objective of United States foreign policy: the destruction of Communist power." Page 138: "If we do not smash the Communist power, we shall cease to exist as a nation and a people." Page 147: "A sudden, massive armed blow . . . far from being morally wrong, is morally obligatory"—though it should be avoided for the present because Americans are too "confused" and Russia may yet be destroyed by "an offensive political-subversive war." Page 157: "The United States must have as its objective the destruction of the Soviet Communist regime, if necessary by total war." And so forth.

Why does Crankshaw, writing in *The Nation,* now indorse Burnham? He does not say. His criticisms, albeit acute, have all to do with tone and method, not with thesis and conclusions. Perhaps his eulogies are meant to be ironical. Yet he says flatly that "anyone in doubt as to the real nature of the present struggle will here find his thought clarified as never before" and that "the particular value of this book . . . is that it gives the public its chance" to become "clearly aware of the issues," to "risk possible consequences," and "above all, to feel that there is a chance for success."

If this is Crankshaw's current judgment, and by implication that of *The Nation,* then why talk of peace? Why not accept *in toto* Burnham's program, which is in essence the program of Luce, Hearst, Dulles, Bullitt, Spellman, and most of the ex-Communists, anti-Communists, and supersalesmen of total catastrophe? If, conversely, Burnham's thesis is judged as I believe it to be—wrong, vicious, and irresponsible, then the publication of the Crankshaw review without editorial comment, makes no sense. Please advise readers as to whether *The Nation* still makes sense —and if so, how.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

Williamstown, Mass., April 10

The World Do Move

Dear Sirs: I was reviewing a particular book by a particular writer, not the main body of American feeling about Russia, of which Mr. Burnham's work is a single aspect. I dissent, as I always have done, from many of the conclusions now common currency in the United States; and I dissent, as I tried to make clear, from much that Mr. Burnham has to say. I should have thought that my criticism of Mr. Burnham's failure to distinguish Russianism from communism as well as my contention that his line of thought ends in totalitarianism were criticisms not of "the tone and method" but of precisely "thesis and conclusion," and fairly radical criticisms at that.

As for my own views, the book from which Professor Schuman quotes was written in 1946, although not published in America until 1948. It was called "Russia and the Russians" and it was primarily concerned with getting beneath the skin of the Russians to find out what makes them tick and investigate the relationship between the ordinary Russian and his tyrannic government. I have little to add to the main body of the book, though I would now make sharp changes of emphasis in the passages about Russia's relations with the world, these themselves having changed in the interval.

The trouble is that, as far as the immediate conflict is concerned, that book is largely irrelevant; when a house is on fire you do not argue about whose fault it is until you have put out the flames. However, I gave it as my opinion that in spite of the Kremlin's fixed belief in the inevitability of war and in spite of the Communists' practice of seeking at all costs and with a complete disregard for human suffering to strengthen their own position and weaken that of the potential enemy, war need not come and that we must blame ourselves if it did. That was not intended to imply that the Russians would be blameless. I still believe this. Further, my assumption that the two systems could continue to live side by side was based on the understanding—which I emphasized more than once—that there would be trouble unless the Western nations made it quite clear how far the Russians could go and how far they could not go. This was written before the Czech putsch. The Western nations have not even yet made their position clear, and there is trouble.

All this is past history. And although in my view America and Britain are very much to blame for the situation in which we find ourselves, the situation is a fact. The new element in it is that Soviet communism has now become unequivocally an instrument of power politics. The standing war of the Communists against the rest has been distorted out of all recognition by the identification of communism with the material interests of a single power. The Kremlin deliberately pursues an open offensive which threatens the existence of all independent societies everywhere. Regardless of past rights and wrongs, it has got to be stopped and, if possible, brought to its senses. I welcomed Mr. Burnham's book, in spite of all the considerations advanced in the first part of my review, because it suggests active ways, short of ruinous violence, of achieving this necessary purpose. The fact that the Kremlin is not the only threat to the well-being of humanity is neither here nor there. It is the most immediate and dangerous one at this moment, and it is the subject of the book I was reviewing.

EDWARD CRANKSHAW

Sandhurst, England, April 17

[*The publication of Mr. Crankshaw's review in* The Nation *does not imply, as Dr. Schuman suggests, that his judgment is "that of* The Nation." *His views are his own, and* The Nation *has*

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not, by implication or otherwise, rendered a judgment on the Burnham book.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Books for a Better Germany

Dear Sirs: Much has been said about removing the menace of Germany for the future. I feel strongly that education for democracy and properly adjusted living are the only true means of achieving this result. The Waldorf Schools, established under the direction of Rudolf Steiner, are dedicated to this purpose. These schools, which have been indorsed by the occupation forces and numerous educators, are privately operated, and students pay tuition according to their ability. Books are a valuable aid, especially scientific, historical, educational, and philosophical books; also dictionaries and reference books. I would like to ask your readers to join in encouraging this movement by sending books to the Waldorfschule, Freiburg i./Br., Germany, French Zone.

VICTOR H. WAGNER

Huntington, N. Y., April 29

International Conference

Dear Sirs: The International Political Science Association, established in September, 1949, under the auspices of Unesco, will hold its first round-table conference in Zurich September 4-9, at the same time as the International Sociological Association. Both groups will hold a certain number of joint sessions for the study of the "Role of Minorities in International Relations."

Your readers are invited to write to me regarding admission to the conference at 27 rue Saint-Guillaume, Paris 7é.

JEAN MEYNAUD,
Executive Secretary-Treasurer, I. P. S. A.

Paris, France, April 1

Correspondents Wanted

Dear Sirs: I work on a dairy farm and don't get out very much and would appreciate some correspondents. I have been a reader of *The Nation* for over ten years. Letters to me should be sent in care of Clarence Dunlop, Rural Route 2, Stayner, Ontario.

JOHN ROBERTSON

Stayner, Ontario, April 10

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